The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East

The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East

A. Leo Oppenheim

With a New Introduction by Scott Noegel

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INTRODUCTION

A. Leo Oppenheim's *magnum opus* on dream interpretation in the ancient Near East is the first point of departure for anyone investigating the subject of ancient dreams.[1] It is comprehensive, masterfully comparative and synthetic, and filled with copious footnotes, many of which provide ideas for research that have yet to be plumbed fully.

It is difficult to over-estimate the lasting influence of Oppenheim's book. Since its initial publication there have appeared countless articles, collected studies, Ph.D. dissertations, and monographs on dreams and dreaming in the ancient Mediterranean world—and most of these cite Oppenheim's work abundantly. Indeed, in the last few decades, a resurgent scholarly interest in the topic has led to the publication of books on dreams in Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies,[2] Classics,[3] Second Temple and Rabbinic Judaism,[4] Late Antiquity,[5] and Islamic Studies.[6] These works too nod with frequency and admiration to Oppenheim's work.

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[1] First published as A. Leo Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East: With a Translation of the Assyrian Dream Book* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 46/3; Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1956), pp. 179–373.

[2] Representative examples include: Robert Karl Gnuse, *The Dream Theophany of Samuel: Its Structure in Relation to Ancient Near Eastern Dreams and Its Theological Significance* (Lanham. MD: University Press of America, 1984); Jean-Marie Husser, *Le songe et la parole: Étude sur le rêve et sa fonction dans l'ancien Israël* (BZAW 210; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994); *Dreams and Dream Narratives in the Biblical World* (Biblical Seminar 63; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999); Joel Sweek, *Dreams of Power from Sumer to Judah: An Essay on the Divinatory Economy of the Ancient Near East* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1996); S. A. L. Butler, *Mesopotamian Conceptions of Dreams and Dream Rituals* (AOAT 258; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1998); Diana Lipton, *Revisions of the Night: Politics and Promises in the Patriarchal Dreams of Genesis* (JSOTS 288; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999); Kasia Szpakowska, *Behind Closed Eyes: Dreams & Nightmares in Ancient Egypt* (Swansea, Wales: Classical Press of Wales, 2003); Francis Breyer, *Tanutamani: Die Traumstele und ihr Umfeld* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003); M. Notter, *Zum Traumverständnis im Buch Ijob* (Biblische Notizen 15; München: Institut für Biblische Exegese, 2004); Y. Zakovitch, *"I Will Utter Riddles from Ancient Times": Riddles and Dream-Riddles in Biblical Narrative* (Tel Aviv: 'Am 'Oved, 2005) (in Hebrew); Ruth Fidler, *"Dreams Speak Falsely"? Dream Theophanies in the Bible: Their Place in Ancient Israelite Faith and Traditions* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2005) (in Hebrew); Annette Zgoll, *Traum und Welterleben im antiken Mesopotamien: Traumtheorie und Traumpraxis im 3.-1. Jahrtausend v.Chr. als Horizont einer Kulturgeschichte des Traeumens* (AOAT 333; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2006), Scott B. Noegel, *Nocturnal Ciphers: The Punning Language of Dreams in the Ancient Near East* (AOS 89; New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 2007); Alice Mouton, *Rêves Hittites: Contribution à une histoire et une anthropologie du rêve en Anatolie ancienne* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

[3] E.g., G. Devereux, *Dreams in Greek Tragedy: An Ethno-Psycho-Analytical Study* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1976); A. H. M. Kessels, *Studies on the Dream in Greek Literature* (Utrecht: HES Publishers, 1978); R. G. A. van Lieshout, *Greeks on Dreams* (Utrecht: HES Publishers, 1980); Victor A. Leuci, *Dream-Technical Terms in the Graeco-Roman World*, 2 vols. (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1993); Kai Brodersen, ed., *Gebet und Fluch, Zeichen und Traum. Aspekte religiöser Kommunikation in antiken Staatswesen* (Antike Kultur und Geschichte 1; Münster: LIT-Verlag 2001); Christine Walde, *Die Traumdarstellungen in der griechisch-römischen Dichtung* (München: Saur, 2001); Beat Näf, *Traum und Traumdeutung im Altertum* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2004). For an extensive and searchable online bibliography on dreams in the ancient world see http://www.gnomon.ku-eichstaett.de/dreams/index.html.

[4] E.g., Robert Karl Gnuse, *Dreams and Dream Reports in the Writings of Josephus: A Traditio-Historical Analysis* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 36; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996); Y. Elman, *Dream Interpretation from Classical Jewish Sources by Rabbi Shelomo Almoli* (Hoboken, NJ: KTAV Publishing, 1998); Frances Flannery-Dailey, *Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests: Jewish Dreams in the Hellenistic and Roman Eras* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 90; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

[5] E.g., Patricia Cox Miller, *Dreams in Late Antiquity: Studies in the Imagination of a Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994); Gregor Weber, *Kaiser, Träume und Visionen in Prinzipat und Spätantike* (Historia-Einzelschriften 143, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2000).

[6] E.g., Steven M. Oberhelman, *The Oneirocriticon of Achmet: A Medieval Greek and Arabic Treatise on the Interpretation of Dreams* (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 1991); John C. Lamoreaux, *The Early Muslim Tradition of Dream Interpretation* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002); P. Lory, *Le rêve et ses interprétations en Islam* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2003).

Given the work's lasting influence, it is rather ironic to read Oppenheim's pre-emptive assessment:

> And it may not be out of place to anticipate here—by pleading guilty—the obvious criticism that a display of philological erudition has been set aside for a presentation which aims at a synthesis, however precarious and short-lived it may soon prove.[7]

It is even more ironic to note that when his book first appeared, it received rather scant critical attention by Near Eastern scholars. Certainly scholars were aware of it, but I have been able to locate only a handful of brief reviews of the book, two of which appeared in journals outside of the discipline.[8]

Today, as we recognize the fifty-first anniversary of this now classic work,[9] it is appropriate that we take note of its value and influence, but also assess the current state of our knowledge on the subject. With this in mind I should like to give consideration first to Oppenheim's typology for dream accounts, and then more briefly, to the methodology he employs in his book. My assessment will focus primarily on the ways that contemporary scholarship has begun to revise or augment his typology and method.

I begin with the subject of typology. Oppenheim's typology for dream accounts rather sharply distinguishes what he called "message" dreams from those that he labeled "symbolic" dreams. Oppenheim saw "message" dreams as those in which a god or important figure appears in a dream and delivers an auditory missive to the dreamer. Since these dreams often appear to legitimate or support the political or social concerns of the dreamer, scholars after Oppenheim have tended to view them as propagandistic literature.

"Symbolic" dreams, on the other hand, are those in which a dreamer witnesses enigmatic visual images that require an interpreter upon awakening. Though many studies since Oppenheim have credited him with the typology, he himself notes that he adopted it from the 2nd c. CE Greek oneirocritic Artemidorus of Daldis,[10] who may have borrowed it from the Stoics.[11] Unlike Artemidorus, however, Oppenheim further subdivided these accounts into those that involve prognostication and labeled these as "mantic" or "prophetic" dreams.[12]

Though Oppenheim's distinction has long provided a useful starting point for analyzing dream materials, scholars in recent years have begun to stress the limits of this typology. First, it articulates no distinction between textual genres. Second, it tends to gloss over the very different historical contexts that inform these texts. And third, as many since Oppenheim have shown,[13] not every dream account fits neatly into one of the two (or three) categories, and

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[7] Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East*, p. 179.

[8] Reikele Borger, *Archiv für Orientalforschung* 18 (1957–1958), 415–418; J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *Journal of Semitic Studies* 3 (1958), 301–304; R. Rapoport, *American Anthropologist* 60 (1958), 396; Albrecht Goetze, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 77 (1958), 85–86; C. Fisher, *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 28 (1959), 88–89. P. C. Couprie, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 17 (1960), 184–187, offers the most detailed review.

[9] This introduction is a revised version of a paper entitled "A. Leo Oppenheim: On Typology and Method," which I delivered on March 19, 2006 at the 216th annual meeting of the American Oriental Society in Seattle, Washington. The paper was part of a panel that I organized on "A. Leo Oppenheim Remembered: *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East* after Fifty Years." Other panelists included: Gary Beckman, Ruth Fidler, Erle Leichty, Beate Pongratz-Leisten, Gil Renberg, and Kasia Szpakowska. I thank George Kiraz and Peter Daniels for inviting me to use my remarks as the basis for this introduction. I note that this paper has also been subsequently integrated into my book *Nocturnal Ciphers*.

[10] Though Artemidorus used the word "allegorical" and Oppenheim used the term "symbolic" (in quotation marks to distinguish it from the "modern, psychoanalytic interpretation of dreams"), the typology is the same. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East*, p. 206. On Artemidorus see, Artemidorus Daldianus, *The Interpretation of Dreams (Oneirocritica)*, Robert J. White, trans., 2nd ed. (Torrance, CA: Original Books, 1990).

[11] For the Stoics as a possible inspiration for Artemidorus, see Carl Alfred Meier, "The Dream in Ancient Greece and Its Use in Temple Cures (Incubation)," in G. E. von Grunebaum and Roger Caillois, eds., *The Dream and Human Societies* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1966), p. 306, who cites *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* III:605; A. H. M. Kessels, "Ancient Classifications of Dreams," *Mnemosyne* 23 (1970), 225–249. But see already the counter-arguments of C. Blum, *Studies in the Dream-Book of Artemidorus* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksells Boktryckeri-A.B., 1936), p. 52.

[12] Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East*, pp. 237–245.

[13] E.g., Butler, *Mesopotamian Conceptions of Dreams and Dream Rituals*, p. 87, for example, introduces the term "symptomatic" for the bulk of dreams mentioned in Akkadian texts, for which rituals were developed. However, she does not view them as "mantic" (see p. 23).

there is considerable overlap between them. There are symbolic dreams that require no interpreter, and message dreams that do. There are prophetic message dreams and prophetic symbolic dreams. If one also considers the significant conceptual overlap between dreams and visions, the problem of typology becomes even more acute. Our inability to apply the typology consistently has forced several scholars to create additional categories. Therefore, while the typology remains heuristically useful, it has become problematic for comparative work.

Informing the typology is also a theoretical assumption that, until recently, has gone largely unaddressed, namely that it presupposes that the peoples of the ancient Near East shared our sense of the "symbolic."[14] As some scholars have shown,[15] Western conceptions of the sign and of representation cannot be readily applied to the ancient materials.

Arguing against the notion that the peoples of the Near East distinguished symbolic from non-symbolic modes of discourse is the illocutionary or performative conception of the written and spoken word. G. Contenau explains:

> Since to know and pronounce the name of an object instantly endowed it with reality, and created power over it, and since the degree of knowledge and consequently of power was strengthened by the tone of voice in which the name was uttered, writing, which was a permanent record of the name, naturally contributed to this power, as did both drawing and sculpture, since both were a means of asserting knowledge of the object and consequently of exercising over it the power which knowledge gave.[16]

Indeed, the Akkadian language employs the same word (i.e., *ittu*) for "visual portent" as well as "written mark," and Mesopotamian divinatory professionals refer to both animal viscera and astral bodies as the "writing of the gods." At Mari, even a "prophet" could be called an *ittu* "sign."[17] The Egyptian language similarly employs the word *tjt* for an "alphabetic character" and a "sculpted image," and ancient Hebrew uses the word *'ôt* for "visual omen," "alphabetic letter," and in two instances, for a "prophet" (Isa 8:18; Ezek 4:3). Their enlarged sense of the semiotic, as it were, allowed the literati of the Near East to perceive images as script and viscera and stars as texts. This, when coupled with the perceived power of the written word, suggests that they did not have a native category that we might call "symbolic," that is, in contradistinction to that which is "non-symbolic," or in the contemporary sense of a something that "stands for, represents, or denotes something else."

Though Oppenheim initially distinguished his use of the term "symbolic" from that of modern psychoanalysis, its repeated and uncritical use in dream studies ever since has made rather opaque the contemporary and western conceptualization that it imposes upon the ancient dream materials. Interestingly, in a 1966 article entitled "Mantic Dreams in the Ancient Near East," Oppenheim noted that his book on dreams betrayed signs of western conceptual bias, but he did not elaborate, and one can only wonder if this is what he had in mind.[18]

The issue here is to what degree the distinction between "message" dreams and "symbolic" dreams represents an "emic" frame of reference provided by the ancient people's *own* linguistic or literary practice, or an "etic" hermeneutic category that derives from *our own* theoretical background. I do not know if Oppenheim was aware of the "emic" and "etic" distinction—his book appeared two years after the anthropologist Kenneth Pike coined these terms[19]—but he certainly was aware of the importance of his own frame of reference, for in his book he stated that his intention was to ascertain what he called "'native' etiologies of the dream as an experience."[20]

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[14] I deal with this topic more extensively in *Nocturnal Ciphers*.

[15] Most notably Giovanni Manetti, *Theories of the Sign in Classical Antiquity*, Christine Richardson, trans. (Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1993); Zainab Bahrani, *The Graven Image: Representation in Babylonia and Assyria* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).

[16] George Contenau, *Everyday Life in Babylon and Assyria* (London: Edward Arnold, 1955), p. 164.

[17] See, e.g., the Epic of Zimri-Lim, l. 139, cited in Martti Nissinen, "Spoken, Written, Quoted, and Invented: Orality and Writtenness in Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy," in Ehud Ben Zvi and Michael H. Floyd, eds., *Writings and Speech in Israelite and Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy* (Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series, 10; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), p. 263.

[18] See A. Leo Oppenheim, "Mantic Dreams in the Ancient Near East," in *The Dream and Human Societies*, pp. 341–359.

[19] Kenneth Pike, *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior* (Glendale, CA: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1954).

[20] Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East*, p. 179.

Nevertheless, the typology he employed was not entirely native, and its continued adoption has unwittingly produced in later scholarship a series of related assumptions. These assumptions can best be described as a series of binary categories into which the data typically is organized. These categories include "mantic" versus "non-mantic," "magical and divinatory" versus "literary," and as I have noted, "symbolic" dreams versus "message" dreams. In biblical scholarship we may add the dichotomy of "gentile" versus "Israelite."

Materials designated as "mantic" typically are treated as magical or divinatory and are associated with dreams of the "symbolic" type, and in biblical scholarship, also with "gentiles." Alternatively, dreams designated as "literary," like the "message" dreams, are examined for their stylistic and rhetorical tropes and are typically assigned a non-mantic origin and a propagandistic purpose. In biblical scholarship, "message" dreams are associated with Israelites.

However, recent scholarship has pointed out that the scribal contexts that produced the Near Eastern divinatory dream manuals also produced the literary texts. This makes it difficult to distinguish with conviction between mantic and non-mantic elements in these materials. In Egypt and Mesopotamia the so-called "literary" dream texts were produced by interdisciplinary groups of highly trained literati, expert in a variety of mantic arts and ritual practices. Several scholars also have observed that literary texts that contain dream reports, the Atraḫasis Epic for example, demonstrate an accurate awareness of incubation rituals.[21] Such evidence suggests that whereas viewing the ancient dream materials through a "literary" lens enables us to appreciate their patterns and stylistic sophistication, studying them though a mantic, divinatory, or ritual lens may be equally enlightening. In any event, scholars are now finding it important to integrate the cultural, religious, and cosmological contexts of divination into their discussions of ancient dream interpretation.

In a similar way, several scholars have called into question the propagandistic nature of "message" dreams. Jean-Marie Husser, for example, has stressed:

> This kind of interpretation should be handled with care; it should be remembered that a good number of inscriptions were not available for public readership and that the latter were the preserve of a very limited number of erudite scholars.[22]

The assumption in scholarship has long been that the purpose of "message" dreams was to legitimate the *dreamer's* social status. Yet, since "message" dream accounts also served to validate dreams as a mode of divine communication, it is possible that they promoted the importance of, and dependency upon ritual authorities as mediators and interpreters of divine knowledge. Therefore, the transmission and dissemination of dream texts, especially those for which an interpreter is summoned, could constitute a propagandistic effort to legitimate *mantic* professions and ideologies.

Another typological distinction that Oppenheim makes in his book that has undergone revision is his insistence that dream interpretation in Mesopotamia was an intuitive (or inspired) form of divination, rather than a deductive form. This typology, which one can trace to Plato, informed Oppenheim's distinction between the oneirocritic's work, which he viewed as highly subjective, and the work of the haruspex, which he saw as involving the observation of "empirical" phenomena.

> The interpreter of dreams is not a diviner; there are no dream books available, or even conceivable, which could be of assistance in such a decoding operation. The interpretation of "symbolic" dreams is not the domain of the diviner-scientist, but rather of the inspired interpreter-artist, the wise man whose genius or god enables him to see through the phantasmal disguise into the core of the message.[23]

Notwithstanding Oppenheim's view, contemporary scholars have argued that the two categories (intuitive and deductive) do not adequately account for the diversity of the dream experiences and reports that have survived.

Moreover, they add that if we consider the ancients' illocutionary perception of words mentioned above, we must factor in the role that writing plays in the oneirocritic process. It can be shown, for example, that some interpretations for dreams found in the Assyrian and Egyptian manuals are based solely on the polyvalent readings of the

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[21] See, e.g., Butler, *Mesopotamian Conceptions of Dreams and Dream Rituals*, pp. 226, 237.

[22] Husser, *Dreams and Dream Narratives in the Biblical World*, p. 19.

[23] Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East*, p. 349.

signs used to record the dream.[24] Thus, their interpretations likely were derived after the dreams were put into *written* form. Consequently, one could argue that dream interpretation was a deductive process, one based not on the observation of physical phenomena, but on the erudite study of signs, which the ancients perceived as equally "empirical." Understood in this way, dream interpretation was no more subjective than any other divinatory science in the ancient Near East.

Summing up thus far what I have noted with regard to Oppenheim's typologies, one might say that they are currently in a state of flux. With new data and new ways of looking at the data has come the recognition for the need to construct a more flexible typology that places dreams and dream reports, and perhaps also visions, on a continuum of mantic experiences and representations. Concomitantly, it has become important to integrate the role of writing and literacy into such a typology.

Moving now to the subject of methodology, I note that Oppenheim's epistemological cautiousness, one might say pessimism, concerning one's ability to know a great deal about ancient dreams and dreaming, is matched only by the one-hundred and ninety-four pages of his book in which he proves otherwise. This is somewhat reminiscent of his later book *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*,[25] in which he informs the reader why it is impossible to write on the topic of Mesopotamian religion, and then proceeds to do so in depth. His acumen, despite his own cautiousness, marks him and his book on dream interpretation as methodologically self-conscious and sophisticated.

He shows himself to be especially cautious when expressing his doubts concerning the validity of applying psychoanalysis to the ancient materials—a caution, unfortunately not shared by some scholars whose works have appeared since his. Oppenheim put it succinctly:

> …the personality of the dreaming person remains wholly beyond the reach of the investigation. And this deprives us of that essential information which the background of the individual or, better still, his utterances in other contexts impart to the psychoanalyst.[26]

Oppenheim similarly appears more conscious of the limits of the comparative method than many who have adopted it since.

> The comparative approach is here, therefore, not an end in itself nor is it meant to establish far-reaching connections which by their very nature are beyond proof, but it is applied to promote a keener analysis of the content and form of the dream-reports in the literatures of our field.[27]

Some scholars also have criticized Oppenheim's methodology for what they perceive to be a lack of attention to the cultural specificity that informs his comparative materials. And while it is true that most of his comparisons are based on broad thematic parallels, it is important to stress that he was foremost interested in ascertaining the differences between cultural views on dreams.

Moreover the incredible range of expertise that he demonstrates with the comparative materials places him ahead of the movement toward increasing specialization, and yet at the vanguard of the current prevailing academic preference for trans-disciplinary inquiry, which is only now helping to budge the study of ancient dream texts beyond its nearly entirely descriptive mode.

In hindsight, Oppenheim's approach to the subject was years ahead of its time. Though he stated that his approach represented a blend of philology and literary criticism, much of his work appears to rely on form-critical models, and in some places, even anticipates the advances of rhetorical criticism. More recent form-critical works on dream texts,[28] essentially take up where Oppenheim left off, and their success is largely the result of the methodological directions that his book provides.

The corpus of ancient dream materials has grown since the publication of Oppenheim's book, and this has led, in part, to the burgeoning number of publications on ancient dreams since his book appeared. Nevertheless, it is fair

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[24] See, e.g., Noegel, *Nocturnal Ciphers*; Noegel and K. Szpakowska, "'Word Play' in the Ramesside Dream Manual," *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 35 (2007), 193–212.

[25] Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

[26] Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East*, p. 185.

[27] Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East*, p. 186.

[28] E.g., Husser, *Dreams and Dream Narratives in the Biblical World*; Flannery-Dailey, *Dreams, Scribes, and Priests.*

to say that most treatments of the subject have been surveys that are primarily descriptive in character. With only a handful of exceptions, few scholars have taken us much farther than Oppenheim. Such is the lasting legacy of his work.

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February 15, 2007

THE INTERPRETATION OF DREAMS IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

With a Translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book

A. LEO OPPENHEIM

CONTENTS

PAGE

Introduction ... 179

Abbreviations ... 181

Part I. Dreams and their interpretation in the ancient Near East

1. The dream as topic ... 184
2. Pattern of the "message" dream ... 186
3. Content of the "message" dream ... 197
4. Content of the "symbolic" dream ... 206
5. Interpretation and interpreters ... 217
6. Etiology ... 225
7. Mantic dreams ... 237
8. Dream-reports from ancient Near Eastern sources ... 245

Part II. The Assyrian Dream-Book

1. The dream-omina from Susa ... 256
2. The series *dZiqīqu* ... 261
3. Related omina ... 269
4. The ritual tablets ... 295
5. Transliteration of the Assyrian Dream-Book ... 307

Appendices

1. List of translated dream-reports ... 345
2. List of additional dream-incidents ... 345
3. Arrangement of the transliteration ... 346
4. List of fragments ... 346
5. List of Akkadian and Sumerian words ... 348

Topical index ... 351

Additions and corrections ... 354

Illustrations ... 355

INTRODUCTION

This book has grown under my hands in a somewhat peculiar way. The original plan was to prepare the "Assyrian Dream-Book" as a kind of text-edition which is standard practice in Assyriology. This means, as a rule: hand copies of all cuneiform texts, transliterations and—if they cannot be avoided—translations, accompanied by a modest introduction and embellished by copious and learned philological notes.

However, while collecting the material for such an "Introduction," I became fascinated by the subject of dreams and their interpretation. The study of the dream-reports preserved in Sumerian and Akkadian texts then drew my attention to the use of dream-incidents as a literary device, and the research I had to do on such purely philological problems as the various words for "dream" and "to dream" induced me to concentrate on the various types of "native" etiologies of the dream as experience. Soon I found it necessary to turn to the other civilizations of the ancient Near East for information as well as for comparison, and I ended up with an "Introductory Essay" too lengthy to be presented in any other way than as the first part of the present book.

Since the first part was written in non-technical language, it appeared to me that it would be unfair to the reader, supposedly interested in the subject, to inflict upon him—in the second part—the obnoxious boredom of a conventional text-edition.

The unfortunate fact that most of the tablets containing the "Assyrian Dream-Book" are in a rather poor state of preservation was a decisive factor in prompting a complete change in the method of presenting the text material. The second part has, therefore, been planned as what might be called an experiment. In it I have made an attempt to combine translations of the better preserved fragments with detailed discussions of the structure and the history of the text. More stress has been laid throughout on the presentation of the background than on philological detail work. The manifold and often complex problems of the reconstruction of the text have given me occasion to introduce the reader to technicalities of Assyriological work which are rarely touched upon even by the specialist in the field.

If the book has thus—as it is hoped—gained somewhat in readability, the Assyriologist will still find in the complete transliteration and in the photographs of the fragments all the information he is entitled to expect in a text-edition. Only the material arrangement has been changed for the sake of the educated layman to whom this book addresses itself.

And it may not be out of place to anticipate here—by pleading guilty—the obvious criticism that a display of philological erudition has been set aside for a presentation which aims at a synthesis, however precarious and short-lived it may soon prove. In a synthetic approach which strives to utilize whatever the methods of the historical disciplines or the study of any other aspect of civilization can contribute, and what philological investigations are able to extract from the raw material of the text, I cannot see an

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With a Translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book

A. LEO OPPENHEIM

CONTENTS

PAGE

Introduction ... 179

Abbreviations ... 181

Part I. Dreams and their interpretation in the ancient Near East

1. The dream as topic ... 184
2. Pattern of the "message" dream ... 186
3. Content of the "message" dream ... 197
4. Content of the "symbolic" dream ... 206
5. Interpretation and interpreters ... 217
6. Etiology ... 225
7. Mantic dreams ... 237
8. Dream-reports from ancient Near Eastern sources ... 245

Part II. The Assyrian Dream-Book

1. The dream-omina from Susa ... 256
2. The series *dZiqīqu* ... 261
3. Related omina ... 269
4. The ritual tablets ... 295
5. Transliteration of the Assyrian Dream-Book ... 307

Appendices

1. List of translated dream-reports ... 345
2. List of additional dream-incidents ... 345
3. Arrangement of the transliteration ... 346
4. List of fragments ... 346
5. List of Akkadian and Sumerian words ... 348

Topical index ... 351

Additions and corrections ... 354

Illustrations ... 355

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Since the first part was written in non-technical language, it appeared to me that it would be unfair to the reader, supposedly interested in the subject, to inflict upon him—in the second part—the obnoxious boredom of a conventional text-edition.

The unfortunate fact that most of the tablets containing the "Assyrian Dream-Book" are in a rather poor state of preservation was a decisive factor in prompting a complete change in the method of presenting the text material. The second part has, therefore, been planned as what might be called an experiment. In it I have made an attempt to combine translations of the better preserved fragments with detailed discussions of the structure and the history of the text. More stress has been laid throughout on the presentation of the background than on philological detail work. The manifold and often complex problems of the reconstruction of the text have given me occasion to introduce the reader to technicalities of Assyriological work which are rarely touched upon even by the specialist in the field.

If the book has thus—as it is hoped—gained somewhat in readability, the Assyriologist will still find in the complete transliteration and in the photographs of the fragments all the information he is entitled to expect in a text-edition. Only the material arrangement has been changed for the sake of the educated layman to whom this book addresses itself.

And it may not be out of place to anticipate here—by pleading guilty—the obvious criticism that a display of philological erudition has been set aside for a presentation which aims at a synthesis, however precarious and short-lived it may soon prove. In a synthetic approach which strives to utilize whatever the methods of the historical disciplines or the study of any other aspect of civilization can contribute, and what philological investigations are able to extract from the raw material of the text, I cannot see an

THE INTERPRETATION OF DREAMS IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

With a Translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book

A. LEO OPPENHEIM

CONTENTS

PAGE

Introduction ... 179

Abbreviations ... 181

Part I. Dreams and their interpretation in the ancient Near East

1. The dream as topic ... 184
2. Pattern of the "message" dream ... 186
3. Content of the "message" dream ... 197
4. Content of the "symbolic" dream ... 206
5. Interpretation and interpreters ... 217
6. Etiology ... 225
7. Mantic dreams ... 237
8. Dream-reports from ancient Near Eastern sources ... 245

Part II. The Assyrian Dream-Book

1. The dream-omina from Susa ... 256
2. The series *dZiqīqu* ... 261
3. Related omina ... 269
4. The ritual tablets ... 295
5. Transliteration of the Assyrian Dream-Book ... 307

Appendices

1. List of translated dream-reports ... 345
2. List of additional dream-incidents ... 345
3. Arrangement of the transliteration ... 346
4. List of fragments ... 346
5. List of Akkadian and Sumerian words ... 348

Topical index ... 351

Additions and corrections ... 354

Illustrations ... 355

INTRODUCTION

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ultimate, ideal goal but rather the way in which our type of research should proceed here and now.

The "Assyrian Dream-Book" is extant in rather numerous fragments, some of which were recognized and identified more than half a century ago. Yet the publication of the series and the study of this interesting material has been hampered by circumstances which should not remain without mention in this preface.

Assyriologists have been interested in dream-omina ever since the last third of the nineteenth century, when F. Lenormant and later Ch. Virolleaud began to publish the omen texts of the Kouyundjik Collection in the British Museum which contains what has been excavated of the library of Assurbanipal. Only a small number of dream-omina have thus been placed at the disposal of the scholars, mainly by A. Boissier (but often only in excerpts), while others have been identified and mentioned in the literature (especially *Bezold Catalogue* **4**: 2143, also M. Jastrow jr., *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* **2**: 958 ff., Giessen, Töpelmann, 1905–1912).

In the years preceding the First World War, Dr. E. Klauber, upon the suggestion of Dr. B. Landsberger who identified the fragments, made more or less provisional hand copies of nearly all pertinent tablets. The outbreak of the war, however, and the death of Dr. Klauber in action (1914), prevented their publication (to have been entitled: *Reste babylonischer Traumbücher, cf. ZA* **30**: 130). In 1939 Dr. Landsberger succeeded in interesting Father A. Pohl, professor at the Pontificio Istituto Orientale in Rome, in this group of texts. Father Pohl went to London and prepared new copies of all fragments, but the Second World War and the increasing pressure of scholarly and administrative duties on Father Pohl thwarted the second chance of the "Assyrian Dream-Book" to be published.

In 1951 Dr. Landsberger entrusted to me the copies made by his friend, Dr. Klauber, which he had carried with him through all his peregrinations, to utilize in the Assyrian Dictionary Project of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and for eventual publication. Father Pohl was generous enough to place at my disposal all the copies, finished and unfinished, which he had made in 1939 and to relinquish his claim to publish them.

These two sets of hand copies have been supplemented by copies made by Dr. F. W. Geers (Oriental Institute) in the years between the two wars, which he handed over to me with his characteristic selflessness. All these materials were utilized, in conjunction with photographs of the fragments, to establish the text that is given in transliteration on pp. 307–344. This transliteration and the photographs shown on plates I–XIII are meant to replace the customary hand-copies.

The present book has the following composition: the first part deals with the topic, Dreams and their Interpretation in the Ancient Near East, and includes as the final section, in translation, all extant dream-reports of that provenience. The second part is dedicated to a presentation of all fragments of the "Assyrian Dream-Book" as well as of other texts of this genre coming from Mesopotamia. Its concluding section contains a complete transliteration of the text of the Dream-Book. In the plates, the photographs of the fragments which have been utilized to establish the text are shown.

The abbreviations used in quotations, etc., will be perfectly understandable to the Assyriologist. The layman will kindly disregard them as well as the particular way in which certain words are transliterated using capitals, Roman or italic characters, spacings, index-figures, accents, etc. All this is a necessary evil caused by the transfer of the various cuneiform systems of writing into modern type. Square brackets indicate broken passages; explanatory remarks and additional words needed to convey the meaning of the original text are given in parentheses. Three dots indicate words which remain obscure.

This book owes much to the collaboration of my friends and colleagues at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. I have to thank Drs. H. G. Güterbock and Th. Jacobsen who not only contributed the translations of the Hittite and Sumerian dream incidents and related passages but also gave me liberally of their time in discussing other pertinent problems. Dr. K. C. Seele translated the dreams from Egyptian texts and Dr. R. Marcus those of the Greek papyri. For the Old Testament I had to rely on the usual handbooks; the monographic study of E. L. Ehrlich, *Der Traum im Alten Testament*, Berlin, Töpelmann, 1953, came into my hands too late to be utilized. Special thanks are due to Professor B. Landsberger with whom I have spent countless hours reading the numerous difficult passages of the texts, discussing their philological problems, etc.

I should like to thank Mr. C. J. Gadd, Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities of the British Museum for permission to publish here a number of fragments of cuneiform tablets from the collection there. My thanks are also due to Dr. Rudolf Meyer, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatische Abteilung, for the photographs of the fragment *VAT* 14279 published on plate X, and to the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft, Berlin, for the photograph *Babylon* 1540 (*Babylon* 36383), reproduced on plate V.

I wish also to acknowledge with thanks the financial help granted me by the Division of the Humanities of the University of Chicago for secretarial and photographic services.

The diagrams of the figures 1 to 6 were made by my wife, Elizabeth Oppenheim, and to her this book is dedicated; without her it would never have been finished.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAA. Annals of archaeology and anthropology (Institute of archaeology, University of Liverpool), Liverpool, 1908–.

ABoT. Balkan, K., Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri, Istanbul, 1948.

Acta Orientalia. Acta Orientalia (ed: Societates orientales Batava Danica Norvegica), Leiden, 1923–.

AfO. Archiv für Orientforschung, vol. III–, Berlin, 1926–.

ANET. Ancient near Eastern texts relating to the Old Testament (ed.: J. B. Pritchard), Princeton, 1950.

An.Or. Analecta Orientalia, Rome, 1931–.

Archaeologia. Archaeologia, London, 1770–.

BA. Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, Leipzig, 1890–.

Babyloniaca. Babyloniaca, études de philologie assyro-babylonienne, Paris, 1907–.

BASOR. American schools of Oriental research, Bulletin, South Hadley, 1919–.

BE. University of Pennsylvania, Babylonian section, Series A, cuneiform texts, Philadelphia, 1893–1914.

Bezold Catalogue. Bezold C., Catalogue of the cuneiform tablets in the Kouyundjik collection of the British Museum, 5 v., London, 1889–1899.

Bezold Glossar. Bezold, C., Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar, Heidelberg, 1926.

BIN. Babylonian inscriptions in the collection of James B. Nies, New Haven, 1917–.

BM. British Museum, tablets outside of the Kouyundjik collection.

Boissier Choix de textes. Boissier, A., Choix de textes relatifs à la divination assyro-babylonienne, 2 v., Geneva, 1905.

Boissier DA. Boissier, A., Documents assyriens relatifs aux présages, Paris, 1894.

BRM. Clay, A. T., Babylonian records in the library of J. Pierpont Morgan, 4 v., New York, 1912–1923.

CH. Harper, R. H., The Code of Hammurabi, king of Babylonia etc., Chicago, 1904.

Chiera SLT. Chiera, E., Sumerian lexical texts from the temple school of Nippur (=The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications XI), Chicago, 1919.

Craig AAT. Craig, J. A., Astrological—astronomical texts copied from the original tablets in the British Museum (=Assyriologische Bibliothek XIV), Leipzig, 1899.

Craig ABRT. Craig, J. A., Assyrian and Babylonian religious texts being prayers, oracles, hymns, etc., Leipzig, 1895.

Crozer Quarterly. Crozer Quarterly, Crozer Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, 1924–.

CT. Cuneiform texts from Babylonian tablets in the British Museum, London, 1896–.

Deimel ŠL. Deimel, A., Šumerisches Lexikon, Rome, 1925–.

Delitzsch HWB. Delitzsch, F., Assyrisches Handwörterbuch, Leipzig, 1896.

Ebeling Tod und Leben. Ebeling, E., Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier, vol. I, Berlin and Leipzig, 1931.

Evetts Nrgl. Evetts, B. T. A., Inscriptions of the reigns of Evil-Merodach, Neriglissar and Laborosoarchod (=Strassmaier, Babylonische Texte VI b), Leipzig, 1892.

Ex Oriente Lux, Mededeelingen. Mededeelingen en verhandelingen van het Vooraziatische Egyptisch Gezelschap "Ex oriente lux," Leiden, 1934–.

Falkenstein LKTU. Falkenstein, A., Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk, Berlin, 1931.

Falkenstein Archaische Texte. Falkenstein, A., Archaische Texte aus Uruk, Berlin, 1936.

GCCI. Goucher College cuneiform inscriptions, New Haven, 1923–.

Genouillac Kich. Genouillac, Henri de, Fouilles françaises d'El-'Akhymer, premières recherches archéologiques à Kich, 2 v., Paris, 1924–1925.

Goetze Hattušiliš. Goetze, A., Hattušiliš, Der Bericht über seine Thronbesteigung nebst den Paralleltexten (=*MVAeG* 29(3)), Leipzig, 1925.

Goetze-Pedersen Muršilis. Goetze, A. and H. Pedersen, Muršilis Sprachlähmung, ein hethitischer Text, Kgl. Danske Videns. Selskab, hist.-fil. Meddelelser 21(1), Copenhagen, 1934.

Gordon Smith Coll. tablets. Gordon, C. H., Smith College tablets; 110 cuneiform texts selected from the college collection. Northampton, Mass., 1952.

Gray Shamash. Gray, C. D., The Šamaš religious texts, Chicago, 1901.

Harper ABL. Harper, R. F., Assyrian and Babylonian letters belonging to the Kouyundjik collection of the British Museum, 14 v., Chicago, 1892–1914.

Haupt ASKT. Haupt, P., Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte nach den Originalen im Britischen Museum copiert, etc. (=Assyriologische Bibliothek I), Leipzig, 1881–1882.

Ḫ.-ḫ. Series ḪAR. ra = *ḫubullu* according to the MS prepared for the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary Project by B. Landsberger.

HSS. Harvard Semitic Series, Cambridge, Mass., 1912–.

IF. Indogermanische Forschungen, Zeitschrift für indogermanische und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Strassburg, etc., 1892–.

JAOS. Journal of the American Oriental Society, Boston, etc., 1894–.

JCS. Journal of cuneiform studies, New Haven, 1947–.

JEA. The Journal of Egyptian archaeology, London, 1914–.

JNES. Journal of near-Eastern studies, Chicago, 1942–.

Johns ADD. Johns, C. H. W., Assyrian deeds and documents recording the transfer of property, Cambridge, 1898–1923.

JRAS. The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, 1834–.

K. Tablets in the Kouyundjik collection of the British Museum.

KAH. Messerschmidt, L., Schroeder, O., Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts (=*WVDOG* XVI and XXXVII), Leipzig, 1911, 1922.

KAJ. Ebeling, E., Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts (=*WVDOG* L), Leipzig, 1927.

KAR. Ebeling, E., Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts (=*WVDOG* XXVIII, XXXIV), Leipzig, 1920–.

KAV. Schroeder, O., Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts (=*WVDOG* XXXV), Leipzig, 1920.

KBo. Figulla, H. H., Forrer, E., Weidner, E. F., Hrozný, F., Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi (=*WVDOG* XXX, XXXVI), Leipzig, 1916–1923.

King BBST. King, L. W., Babylonian boundary-stones and memorial tablets, 2 v., London, 1912.

King BMS. King, L. W., Babylonian magic and sorcery, being "The Prayers of the Lifting of the Hand," London, 1896.

King Creation. King, L. W., The seven tablets of creation, 2 v., London, 1902.

King Suppl. King, L. W., Catalogue of the cuneiform tablets in the Kouyundjik collection of the British Museum, London, 1914.

KlF. Kleinasiatische Forschungen, Weimar, 1927–1930.

Kraus Physiognomatik. Kraus, F. R., Texte zur babylonischen Physiognomatik (=*AfO* Beiheft III), Berlin, 1939.

Kraus Physiogn. Omina. Kraus, F. R., Die physiognomischen Omina der Babylonier (=*MVAeG* 40(2), Leipzig, 1935.

KUB. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Vorderasiatische Abteilung, Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, Berlin, 1921–.

Küchler Beiträge. Küchler, F., Beiträge zur Kenntnis der assyrisch-babylonischen Medizin (=Assyriologische Bibliothek XVIII), Leipzig, 1904.

Labat Hémérologies. Labat, R., Hémérologies et ménologies d'Assur, Paris, 1939.

Labat TDP. Labat, R., Traité akkadien de diagnostics et pronostics, 2 v., Leiden, 1951.

Landsberger Fauna. Landsberger, B., Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien nach der 14. Tafel der Serie ḪAR-RA = *ḫubullu* (=*Sächs. Akad. d. Wiss, Phil.-hist. Kl., Abh. vol.* 42(6)), Leipzig, 1934.

Landsberger MSL I. Landsberger, B., Die Serie *ana ittišu* (=Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon I), Rome, 1937.

Legrain UET III. Legrain, L., Business documents of the third dynasty of Ur (=Ur Excavations, Texts no. III), 2 v., London–Philadelphia, 1937, 1947.

Lewy KTS. Lewy, J., Die altassyrischen Texte vom Kültepe bei Kaisarije, Istanbul, 1926.

LKA. Ebeling, E. (and F. Köcher, L. Rost), Literarische Keilsshrifttexte aus Assur, Berlin, 1953.

LTBA I. Matouš, L., Die lexikalischen Tafelserien der Babylonier und Assyrer in den Berliner Museen, vol. I, Gegenstandslisten, Berlin, 1933.

LTBA II. von Soden, W., Die lexikalischen Tafelserien der Babylonier und Assyrer in den Berliner Museen, vol. II, Die akkadischen Synonymenlisten, Berlin, 1933.

MAOG. Altorientalische Gesellschaft, Mitteilungen, Leipzig, 1925–.

MDP. Délégation en Perse, Mémoires, later: Mémoires de la Mission archéologique en Perse, Paris, 1900–.

Mededeelingen. Mededeelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Deel 78, Serie B, no. 2, F. M. Th. Boehl (Oorkunde uit de Periode van 2000–1700 V. Chr.).

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Meissner Babylonien und Assyrien. Meissner, B., Babylonien und Assyrien, 2 v., Heidelberg, 1920–1925.

Meissner BAP. Meissner, B., Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht (=Assyriologische Bibliothek XI), Leipzig, 1893.

Mullo Weir Lexicon. Mullo Weir, C. J., A lexicon of Accadian prayers in the rituals of expiation, London, 1934.

Museum Journal. University of Pennsylvania, The Museum Journal, Philadelphia, 1910–.

MVAeG (MVAG). Vorderasiatisch-ägyptische Gesellschaft, Berlin, Mitteilungen, Berlin, 1896–1908; Leipzig, 1909–.

OECT. Oxford edition of cuneiform texts (inscriptions), London, 1923–.

OLZ. Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, Berlin, 1898–1908; Leipzig, 1909–.

Oppenheim-Hartman Beer. Oppenheim, A. L. and L. F. Hartman, On beer and brewing techniques in ancient Mesopotamia according to the XXIIIrd tablet of the series ḪAR. r a = *ḫubullu* (=*JAOS* Supplement no. 10), Baltimore, 1950.

Orientalia NS. Orientalia, commentarii de rebus assyro-babylonicis, arabicis, aegyptiacis, etc., Rome, 1932–.

Osiris. Osiris, Studies on the history and philosophy of science and on the history of learning and culture, Bruges, 1936–.

PBS. University of Pennsylvania, University Museum, publications of the Babylonian section, Philadelphia, 1911–.

PRSM. Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine, London, 1908–.

PSBA. Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, London, 1878–.

R. Rawlinson, Sir Henry, The cuneiform inscriptions of Western Asia, 5 v., London, 1861–1891.

RA. Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale, Paris, 1886–.

RB. Revue biblique, Paris, 1892–.

Reisner SBH. Reisner, G. A., Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit (=Kgl. Museen zu Berlin, Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen X), Berlin, 1896.

RÉS. Revue des études sémitiques et Babyloniaca, Paris, 1934–.

Revue Sémitique. Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne, Paris, 1893–1914.

RLA. Reallexikon der Assyriologie (ed.: Ebeling, E., Meissner, B.), Berlin, 1928–.

Rm. Cuneiform tablets in the Kouyundjik collection of the British Museum.

RSO. Rivista degli studi orientali, Rome, 1907–.

RT. Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne, Paris, 1870–.

Salonen Landfahrzeuge. Salonen, A., Die Landfahrzeuge des alten Mesopotamien (=Annales academiae scient. Fennicae, B **72**(3)) Helsinki, 1951.

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Scheil Sippar. Scheil, V., Une saison de fouilles à Sippar (=Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire vol. I), Cairo, 1902.

Sm. Tablets in the Kouyundjik collection of the British Museum.

Smith Idrimi. Smith, S., The statue of Idri-mi (=Occasional publications of the British institute of archaeology in Ankara), Ankara, 1949.

v. Soden Syllabar. von Soden, W., Das akkadische Syllabar (=*An. Or.* XXVII), Rome, 1948.

Stamm Namengebung. Stamm, J. J., Die akkadische Namengebung (=*MVAeG* **44**), Leipzig, 1939.

Stud. Or. Studia Orientalia, Societas orientalis fennica, Helsingfors, 1925–.

Studies OT Prophecy. Studies in Old Testament prophecy presented to Prof. T. H. Robinson, Edinburgh, 1950 (Lods, A. and G. Dossin, Une tablette inédite de Mari intéressante pour l'histoire ancienne du prophétisme sémitique, pp. 103–110).

Symbolae Koschaker. Symbolae ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentes Paulo Koschaker dedicatae (=Studia et documenta ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentia, vol. II), Leiden, 1939.

Tallqvist Götterepitheta. Tallqvist, K., Akkadische Götterepitheta (=Studia Orientalia VII, Helsinki, 1938).

TCL. Musée du Louvre, département des antiquités orientales, textes cunéiformes, Paris, 1910–.

Thompson AMT. Thompson, R. C., Assyrian medical texts from the originals in the British Museum, Oxford, 1923.

Thompson DAB. Thompson, R. C., A dictionary of Assyrian botany, London, 1949.

Thompson Epic. Thompson, R. C., The epic of Gilgamish, text, transliteration and notes, Oxford, 1930.

Thompson Esarhaddon. Thompson, R. C., The prisms of Esarhaddon and of Ashurbanipal found at Nineveh, 1927–28, London, 1931.

Thompson Reports. Thompson R. C., The reports of the magicians and astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon in the British Museum, 2 v., London, 1900.

TSBA. Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, London, 1872–1886.

UCPSPh. University of California, publications in Semitic philology, Berkeley, 1907–.

Ungnad Datenlisten. Ungnad, A., "Datenlisten" in *RLA* **2**, 131–194 (also Ebeling, *ibidem*, 194–196, 256–257).

VAB II. Knudtzon, J. A., Die El-Amarna-Tafeln, 2 v. (=Vorderasiastische Bibliothek II), Leipzig, 1910.

VAS. Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Vorderasiatische Abteilung, Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler, Leipzig, 1907–.

VAT. Tablets kept in Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Vorderasiatische Abteilung, Thontafelsammlung.

Virolleaud ACh. Virolleaud, Ch., L'Astrologie chaldéenne, le livre intitulé "*enuma (Anu) ^{ilu}Bel*," 14 v., Paris, 1908–12.

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Winckler Sargon. Winckler, H., Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons, 2 v., Leipzig, 1889.

Wiseman Alalakh. Wiseman, D. J., The Alalakh tablets (=Occasional publications of the British institute of archaeology at Ankara no. 2), Ankara, 1953.

WO. Die Welt des Orients, Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes, Wuppertal, 1947–.

WVDOG. Deutsche Orientgesellschaft, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen, Leipzig, 1900–.

WZKM. Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vienna, 1887–.

YOS. Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian texts, New Haven, 1915–.

ZA. Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete, Leipzig, 1886–.

ZAeS. Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumkunde, Leipzig, 1863–.

Zimmern Beiträge. Zimmern, H., Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion (Die Beschwörungstafeln Šurpu, Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager, Beschwörer und Sänger), Leipzig, 1901.

Zimmern Fremdwörter. Zimmern, H., Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss, Leipzig, 1915.

PART I

DREAMS AND THEIR INTERPRETATION IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

1. THE DREAM AS TOPIC

Wer nicht von dreitausend Jahren sich weiss Rechenschaft zu geben—
Bleib' im Dunkeln unerfahren, mag von Tag zu Tage leben.

Goethe, West-Oestlicher Divan; Buch des Unmuts, 13.

The dream-experiences of a civilization dead for many millennia must be studied in the reflections which they have produced in the literary documents of that civilization. Hence, for the breaking of the ground, philology and, for the exploration of those subtle nuances and complex implications often so revealing, literary criticism are the only possible approaches. Their success, however, depends necessarily on the accidents of survival of pertinent and sufficient text material.

In the written records of the civilizations of the ancient Near East, references to dreams occur on several clearly distinct literary levels, each subject to its own rigid and consistent stylistic conventions. Since these restrictions bear heavily upon the content, form, and etiology of the recorded dreams, it is obvious that an investigation must first turn to them. References to dreams can only be evaluated adequately after one has recognized and established the extent and the basic trends of the conventions valid for the text type in which they occur.

Of the two levels of consciousness which are alternatingly experienced by man—the waking world and the realm of dreams—the latter is subject to a characteristic dichotomy. In dreams intermingle in many and curious ways the influences of the conceptual conditioning of the waking world with all its manifold and interconnected configurations of experiences, attitudes, and expectations and that fundamental inventory of dream-contents which is most likely shared in varying degrees by all humans of all periods. The terrors of the dream and its delights, the meeting with the departed, the untrammeled sweep of the earth, the nether-world, and the heavens, the pressures of the needs of the creature, the encroachment of the troubles of the daily life, to mention only a few aspects, produce an ubiquitous *fundus* in that world of dreams upon which is superimposed a rigid pattern of selections and restrictions adopted by the individual civilization and adjusted to the cultic and social standing of the dreamer. This pattern derives its ultimate authority and unshakable consistency from that setting of the waking world which, by some unknown process, each civilization creates as the only admissible vehicle of its self-expression.

Such a configuration of admitted, preferred, and excluded forms of expression within the dream-experience produces necessarily a typology of dreams. Each such dream-type is characterized by specific features which determine not only the form in which a dream-experience is to be reported but exercise their influence also upon the very repertory of the dream for which they establish the rules for admission or rejection of specific contents.

For the ancient Near East it can be stated—with the oversimplification which should be permitted only in such preliminary remarks—that dream-experiences were recorded on three clearly differentiated planes: dreams as revelations of the deity which may or may not require interpretation; dreams which reflect, symptomatically, the state of mind, the spiritual and bodily "health" of the dreamer, which are only mentioned but never recorded, and, thirdly, mantic dreams in which forthcoming events are prognosticated.

Within these planes patterns have evolved which are valid only for a specific type of literary document. Such patterns are conditioned by the characteristic ideological attitudes of the several individual civilizations within the orbit of the ancient Near East and are, in each civilization, subject to growth by accretion, to the vicissitudes of external (and therefore accidental) influences, and—as all things alive—to ultimate and inevitable disintegration. To reconstruct the features and the history of such a pattern in a given setting, we are compelled to rely exclusively on the scarred, scattered, and accidental remains of the text material. The resulting picture is necessarily blurred and distorted, full of "blind spots" which hide from us the answers to many crucial questions.

Under these circumstances, the only feasible approach is to collect the extant reports of actual and imaginary dream-experiences and to attempt to reconstruct the stylistic features, the typical situations, the range of dream-contents, etc. This will yield material for the investigation of the dream-pattern with respect to the meaning and function of its elements, which, in turn, should shed light on the background of the "pattern."

The stylistic conventions which determine the way in which the dream-report is presented, what contents are admissible, etc., can, however, only be fully studied with regard to that one Near Eastern dream-type which is best attested and in which the intentions of the deity are revealed to kings and priests. These

revelation dreams always contain a message and occur, as a rule, only under critical circumstances and then as a privilege to the leader of the social group. They cannot be termed simply "culture-pattern dreams" as they have been recently by E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, p. 108 f. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1951), because they in no way establish the social or cultic standing of the person who experiences them, nor are they even a characteristic prerequisite in this respect. As a matter of fact, the evidence for initiation dreams offered by B. Bruyère for Egypt ("Le Sphinx de Guizeh et les Épreuves Sportives du Sacre," *Chronique d'Égypte* **38**: 194–206, 1944) and accepted by C. J. Gadd (*Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East*, 26, London, Oxford University Press, 1948) cannot, for philological reasons, be admitted at all.

Inasmuch as such "message dreams" are nearly always recorded in royal inscriptions, which actually furnish a very large section of what is preserved of Egyptian and Mesopotamian texts, they must necessarily figure predominantly in the present investigation. This situation should not, however, be allowed to lead us into the belief that these dreams reflect in any way the extent and the variety of moods which characterize actual dream-experiences. The latter were subjected to a severe censorship which yielded the following results: irrational dream-contents are only reported either if they are accompanied by a rational and divinely authorized interpretation, or for mantic purposes in systematic collections of such dreams. All other dreams of this kind are only referred to vaguely as "evil dreams." The individual civilizations show, however, variations in this respect which the present study will have to determine in detail.

By the very nature of its subject matter, an investigation like the present is expected, rightly or wrongly, either to take cognizance of the achievements of the psychoanalytic school or schools, or to contribute in some way towards the research work on dreams based upon the approach and methods initiated by Sigmund Freud.

The material which is to be presented in this book, however, does not lend itself readily to such treatment, and it might even be doubted whether any satisfactory and constructive results could be expected under the specific circumstances. There is a variety of reasons which hamper the psychoanalytic approach to an investigation of the few extant dream-reports of our civilizations. These reports are couched in a language which still offers considerable linguistic difficulties, especially with regard to the nuances and connotations of the main religious terms. In addition, they are styled, as a rule, in very condensed and terse sentences, under the palpable influence of rigid restrictions as to form, content, and mood. The censorship exercised by these conventions has reduced the dream-contents to an extremely small number of types which have to be studied as such and not as the expression of individual experiences. To uncover the information these dream-reports contain and to establish this typology one has to resort to methods of literary criticism (*cf.* for an example p. 187 ff.) A purely psychoanalytic approach would yield here only distorted results. Dreams recorded in ancient Near Eastern literatures cannot be expected to reflect the psychological status of the dreamer, his aspirations and individual conflicts; even in the few cases which offer exceptions to this statement (*cf.* p. 203 f. and 227), the personality of the dreaming person remains wholly beyond the reach of the investigation, and this deprives us of that essential information which the background of the individual or, better still, his utterances in other contexts impart to the psychoanalyst.

It is, furthermore, rather obvious that the existence of literarily acceptable dream-types has channeled the imaginations of dreamers and poets alike into certain pre-established patterns. Such models not only answer the needs of the literary structures of which they form integral parts, but they also add authenticity to the dream-experiences of the individual. Dreams which are true to type are necessarily theologically acceptable.

Even in those comparatively rare cases in which irrational dream-contents have been permitted to be recorded, the psychoanalyst is bound to encounter grave difficulties. Their sparse inventory of symbols, symbolic actions, and gestures has grown out of associations that endowed them with favorable or evil implications which, because of our lack of background knowledge or our philological shortcomings, remain outside of our ken. And even if we knew the meaning of the words more exactly and had a more extensive insight into their aura of connotations, the very purpose for which all the irrational dream-contents have been recorded would preclude their utilization by a student of psychoanalysis for anything beyond the recognition of the most primitive and universal symbols and situations. These dreams occur exclusively in literary texts where the interest of the poet and his audience is always directed towards the future. Mantic, the prediction of things to come, is paramount in all these dream-reports. Quite naturally, the poet uses actual dream-experiences to build up and to embellish his dream-story, but their substance and temper are subordinated to the purpose mentioned.

The only type of dream-experience which would be of interest to the modern "interpreter," is represented by those evil dreams the reporting of which the style conventions (grown, as a matter of fact, out of superstitious fears) forbade. They are referred to, and then only very rarely, in a context which deals with specific "therapeutic" measures taken to counteract them. For a revealing example, *cf.* p. 230.

It should, however, be stated here that our determination to abstain from any, necessarily dilettantic, attempts to introduce psychoanalytic terminology and concepts, has been weakened in a few cases where such observations were too obvious to be passed over in silence. *Cf.* e.g. pp. 204, 227 and 230 f. In other instances, illustrative or interesting parallels and contrasts have been pointed out between the methods and aims of the ancient oneirocritics and their modern "colleagues," the psychoanalysts.

Our presentation will draw primarily, but by no means exclusively, upon the evidence originating in Mesopotamia, that is upon Sumerian and Akkadian (i.e. Assyro-Babylonian) sources. For a better perspective in distinguishing the essential features of the pattern, the pertinent Egyptian and Hittite texts as well as the material contained in the Biblical sources have been included in this investigation. An effort has furthermore been made, and to the same end, to glean from the rich and informative Greek literature as much material as is relevant for the elucidation of the ancient Near Eastern evidence. Here the fullest possible use has been made of the labor of classical scholars, who have repeatedly dealt with the topic of the present study.

This branching out into adjacent and even somewhat outlying fields of research has proved quite fruitful; comparisons, if attention is focused on differences rather than on superficial similarities, often disclose facts overlooked even by specialists in the compared fields. The heuristic value of such an approach is especially great where slightly different patterns, originating in a group of kindred civilizations, all refer to the same field of human experience or endeavor. Carefully compared, they throw into relief even the smallest differences. The comparative approach is here, therefore, not an end in itself, nor is it meant to establish far-reaching connections which by their very nature are beyond proof, but it is applied to promote a keener analysis of the content and form of the dream-reports in the literatures of our field.

Obviously, literary evidence for dreams can either deal with their content as recorded in historical inscriptions, in epical texts, and, rather rarely, in the religious literature; or with references to dreams as experience. Here private letters and other passages which reflect actual impressions of the individual and do not adhere to established conventions offer important evidence in their attempts to describe the unique and unmistakable sensations accompanying the dream either as such or in order to use certain of its aspects as *tertia comparationis* in similes or other figures of speech. Furthermore, the Mesopotamians as well as the Egyptians—and, in the middle of the first millennium B.C., the Greeks—evolved a special type of literature concerned with the mantic import of dreams.

The present part will treat these groups of evidence in the sequence just indicated.

2. PATTERN OF THE "MESSAGE" DREAM

Passages which describe the contents of dreams are not too frequent in the cuneiform (Sumerian and Akkadian) historical texts; they are even rarer in the records of the Egyptians and the Hittites. They occur somewhat more often in the Old and the New Testament. Each of these reports consists by necessity of two clearly defined and very characteristically styled sections: the description of the setting of the dream, informing us who experienced it, when, where and under what noteworthy circumstances; and the content of the dream itself. It should be noted that the latter is always imbedded in the former which thus forms a "frame" (for an exception *cf.* p. 213).

Even in the consciously creative literary effort, where dream-reports are quite frequently employed as technical devices for purely artistic purposes, this natural division is consistently preserved. The entire report with its two sections described above is, of course, integrated in the contextual framework of the story told by the text. As none of these reports contain all the stylistic features which constitute the "pattern," it will be necessary to analyze each story carefully in order to establish the borderline between its typical and its individual traits. Only then can the relationship between the dream-report and the story within which it is told be investigated.

The two main sources for the evidence to be discussed in the present section are royal inscriptions of historical content and certain other types of records of the past—here, the Old Testament holds a unique position—and texts whose style and scope classify them as literary whatever their specific function may have been in the religious life or the artistic aspirations of our civilizations. From these documents were collected the dream-reports given in translation on pp. 245–255 to which the reader will be referred by the numbering given them there. The cuneiform material is intended to provide a complete coverage, as are the passages from Egyptian and Hittite texts.

At this point some preliminary observations should be made concerning the distribution in time of dream-reports preserved in datable historical inscriptions. Although the implications of this distribution-pattern will be studied later (*cf.* p. 199 f.), a discussion of the stylistic features of these reports should be preceded by some indication as to the chronological framework. In Mesopotamian royal inscriptions, we have two reports contained in Sumerian texts of the end of the third millennium B.C. (§8, no. 1 and p. 211), while all other examples (in Akkadian) come from the inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian king Assurbanipal (seventh century B.C., §8, nos. 8–11) and of the "Chaldean" king, Nabonidus (sixth century B.C., §8, nos. 12–13). Within this enormous gap falls one text from Hittite Asia Minor, the so-called autobiography of King Hattushili (twelfth century, B.C., §8, nos. 25–29) which

makes ample use of the dream as a means of the deity to direct this king's rise to power.

From Egypt, the first fully recorded (and preserved) royal dream dates from the end of the fifteenth century B.C. (Thutmose IV, §8, no. 15). It is followed by another solitary example, the dream of the Pharaoh Merenptah (thirteenth century B.C., §8, no. 16). Then from the latest period we have a group of reports concerning Egyptian kings from a variety of sources: one experienced by the Ethiopian Tanutamon (seventh century B.C., §8, no. 17), one recorded by Herodotus (2: 141; §8, no. 22) concerning a king called "Sethos" supposed to have ruled at the time of the Assyrian invasion (*cf.* below p. 200); and one mentioned by Plutarch (De Iside 28) of Ptolemy I, Soter. (§8, no. 21).

In the domain of literary documents, the accidents of text-survival have definitely blurred and even distorted the picture. It now seems as if the use of dreams as a literary device had a much better established tradition in the stylistic repertory of Mesopotamia (Sumer and Akkad alike) than in that of Egypt where—certainly only by accident—only the very latest literary texts (*cf.* below p. 194) resort to it. With regard to the frequency of dream-episodes, the epic of Gilgamesh enjoys, however, a special position in its Akkadian as well as in its Sumerian version. The latter contains even an additional dream-incident in which Enlil seems to have "destined" Gilgamesh for kingship but not for "eternal life" (S. N. Kramer, "The Death of Gilgamesh," *BASOR* **94**: 2–12, 1944). Another episode, still more damaged, refers to dreams dreamt by the hero on his journey to the "Land-of-the-Living" (S. N. Kramer, "Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living," *JCS* **1**: 12, line 47, 1947). The dreams of the Semitic version of the epic will be discussed on pp. 214, 215 (§8, nos. 3 to 7). For a dream-incident in another Sumerian epical text, *cf.* also S. N. Kramer, "Lugalbanda and Mt. Hurrum" (in "Heroes of Sumer," *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* **90**: 120–130, 1946); the passage is unfortunately broken.

With regard to the distribution of dream-reports within the same literary type of text, it can be observed that the frequency seems to depend not only on stylistic conventions but also on the individual preferences of authors and compilers. There are some very revealing examples of this observation: the Elohist source of the Old Testament provides us with the majority of dream-stories; the Gospel of Matthew contains nearly all the dream-incidents of the New Testament; the so-called autobiography of the Hittite king Hattushili (*cf.* for details p. 197 ff.), and the inscriptions of the Assyrian king Assurbanipal, offer most or perhaps even all of the dream-reports of their respective types of texts. This situation can be accounted for either by a personal interest of the ruler for such incidents, which, especially in the case of Hattushili, seems to be beyond doubt, or by a relaxation of style-restrictions in a specific period of which a scribe or a compiler took advantage. These causes might have coincided, and changes in the spiritual inclinations of certain social groups could well have been a contributing cause.

The typical dream-report of our source-material appears within a strictly conventionalized "frame," the pattern of which can be reconstructed from evidence that is surprisingly uniform from the Sumer of the third millennium up to Ptolemaic Egypt and from Mesopotamia westward to Greece—not to mention still more distant regions (*cf.* pp. 188 and 192). The "frame," as already indicated on p. 186, consists of an introduction which tells about the dreamer, the locality and other circumstances of the dream which were considered of import. The actual report of the dream-content follows and is succeeded by the final part of the "frame" which describes the end of the dream and often includes a section referring to the reaction of the dreaming person or, also, to the actua fulfillment of the prediction or promise contained in the dream.

It is customary, in the first part of the "frame," to stress the fact that the person who is to experience the dream has gone to bed and is deeply asleep. *Cf.* the Egyptian passages "while the Prince of Bekhten was sleeping in his bed" (§8, no. 18), or "thereupon his majesty rested" (*cf.* p. 190), and the Assyrian use of the verb *utullu* "to be in bed" (§8, nos. 10 and 11). The time of the night at which the dream occurred does not seem to have mattered (contrast the classical world and *cf.* the remarks p. 240), because it is never expressly indicated; a possible exception seems to be contained in the Akkadian literary work *Ludlul-bêl-nêmeqi* (§8, no. 14) which mentions a dream occurring in the morning hours. Only one dream, that of the Pharaoh Thutmose IV recorded on the "Sphinx Stela" (§8, no. 15), happened at noon-time and the report stresses this circumstance in a patent attempt to characterize the nature of this sleep as unusual. Still the Egyptians seem to envisage elsewhere (*cf.* the passage of the Hieratic dream book quoted below on p. 243 f. and also K. H. Sethe, "Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefässcherben des Mittleren Reiches," *Abhandlungen Preuss. Akad. Wissensch., phil.-hist. Kl.* 1926 (5): 72) the possibility of experiencing dreams during the day.

The setting of the mentioned dream of Thutmose IV is unique—in the shadow of the great sphinx—but parallels in one important respect the dream of Jacob in Bethel (Gen. 28: 12 ff.). In both cases, the devotee chances upon the numinous place where the god who has his abode in this very locality appears to him in a dream. This might well be called a case of unintentional incubation.

Actual incubation incidents are rarely recorded in the sources originating in the ancient Near East in contrast with Greek and later Near Eastern practices.

A typical example is the dream of Solomon in Gibeon (I Kings 3: 5, also II Chron. 1: 5) or that of Daniel in the Legend of Aqht, both to be classified as provoked incubation dreams experienced by kings. Obviously, such a dream is here considered a royal privilege (*cf.* probably also Gen. 46: 1–4). In emergencies, kings are reported to resort to incubation in order to obtain divine help or advice. This is the case in the incident related in the Hittite version of the legend of Narâm-Sin (*cf.* H. G. Güterbock, "Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische Gestaltung bei Babyloniern and Hethitern bis 1200, *ZA* **42**: 1–91, 1934; **44**: 45–145, 1938) as well as in the story of the dream of the Egyptian king "Sethos" mentioned by Herodotus (§8, no. 22). Analogous instances are the second dream of Gudea (*cf.* p. 212) and that of Nabonidus (§8, no. 13 and p. 204 f.), both being provoked in order to confirm the interpretation of a symbolic dream seen by these rulers (*cf.* below p. 205 for this practice).

Turning to incubation-dreams provoked and experienced by priests destined for this purpose, one should mention first the Arrian passage (*Anabasis* 7: 26, 2) which tells about an incubation enacted in Babylon, in the sanctuary of "Sarapis," in a desperate effort to obtain divine help for the dying Alexander the Great. Then we have reference to certain Mesopotamian priests, or better, diviners (*cf.* p. 222 for the *bārû* and p. 221 for *šā'ilu*), who seem to have obtained divine information by means of dreams, although it cannot be said whether such communications occurred in the sanctuary. Priestly incubation is also reported from Asia Minor; in his famous prayer occasioned by the ravages of a pestilence, the Hittite king, Murshili II, clearly differentiates between dreams seen by him, as king, dreams experienced by priests during an incubation (*cf.* also below p. 199), and dreams in which the deity addresses any other person (*cf.* A. Goetze in *ANET*, p. 394 ff., sub 2 and 11).

As a special case must be regarded dreams seen by priests who sleep in the sanctuary but who neither provoke nor expect such experiences. The dream of Samuel (I Sam. 3: 1 ff.) offers an example (*cf.* below p. 189), and an analogous incident is reported in an inscription of the Assyrian king, Assurbanipal. The latter concerns the dream of a priest of the goddess, Ishtar of Arbela (§8, no. 10), and parallels in many respects the Samuel story (*cf.* for details pp. 199 and 200).

As to priests receiving dream-revelations according to Akkadian texts, no tendency towards specialization can be observed; we have a *šabrû*-priest in one of the dream-incidents contained in the inscriptions of Assurbanipal (§8, no. 10), and a *šangû*-priest on a small fragment found in Boghazkeui (*KUB III*, 87) which seems to contain a legendary story about the Hittite king, Shuppiluliuma, in which the Weather-god appears in a dream to his priest.

As to Egypt, it should be stressed that, notwithstanding all statements in popular and semi-popular presentations, actual incubation dreams are not mentioned in pre-Ptolemaic texts and that the pertinent evidence even in the latter is very slim (*cf.* e.g. P. Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt*, 168, London, Oxford University Press, 1922).

The sudden shift in reality-levels, the startling shock experienced in meeting the dream-apparition is expressed in various ways in the dream-reports originating in our source material. The "Sphinx Stela" e.g. (§8, no. 15) uses here the very striking term "to find (in one's sleep)" (recurring, as a matter of fact, also in Middle English dream-descriptions: "to meet" in one's sleep) to describe the suddenness of the encounter between the dreamer and his god. The expression "to see (a dream)" which is the rule in our sources (for exceptions *cf.* p. 226) bespeaks a basically passive attitude of the person who experiences the dream. It is, in the Old Testament, often replaced by "God came to NN in a dream by night" (*cf.* e.g. Gen. 20: 3 f., 31: 24, I Kings 3: 4 f., 9: 2). This more active attitude of the appearing deity is also attested in the Memphis Stela which records the dream of Pharaoh Amenhotep II in the following form: "The majesty of his august god, Amon, . . . came before his majesty (i.e. the Pharaoh) in a dream."

The Greek epics show a marked desire to describe the appearance in such details as to give the impression that the appearing deity "actually" entered and left the room of the sleeper. This demonstrative objectivity has left but few traces in the dream-reports of our civilizations. The Assyrian dream translated in §8, no. 10 uses the verb *erēbu* "to enter" (also §8, nos. 14 and 19) and *aṣû* (*ana aḫîti*) "to leave," but the setting of this incident is rather specific and can hardly attest to a tendency to show the objective reality of the experience. On p. 234 we shall discuss a curious Akkadian passage in which a simile is used, paralleling certain verses of the Odyssey which describe how the dream-figure (*oneiros*) actually entered the room through a small hole in the door.

While the tendency to show the objectivity of the dream-experience is attested in Greece only by certain details of the dream-pattern (entering and leaving of the room, hearing of the voice of the visiting deity at the very moment of awakening, *cf.* p. 191, and the leaving of tokens in the hands of the dreamer, *cf.* p. 192), the dream-reports of Nordic origin seem definitely to stress this aspect of the dream. *Cf.* G. D. Kelchner, *Dreams in Old Norse Literature and their Affinities in English Folklore* (Cambridge, University Press, 1935) where the dreams mentioned on pp. 87, 98, 108 and 124 note expressly that the sleeper, after the sudden awakening out of his dream, still had a glimpse of a "person" just leaving his room. This and other features of these reports (*cf.* below p. 192) succeed in giving the experience a certain spooky character.

On the optic plane, the impact of the apparition, be it a deity or his substitute or messenger, etc., is, in Near Eastern dream-reports, sometimes expressed by a reference to his towering size. This is an essential feature of the famous dream of Gudea, e n s i of the Sumerian city of Lagash (§8, no. 1), in which he reports seeing a divine figure reaching from earth to heaven. In an isolated Akkadian passage not only the stature of such a dream-apparition is described as superhuman (*a-tir ši-kit-[ta] mi-na-ta šur-ru-uḫ*, §8, no. 14), but his beauty is stressed in addition. There exists furthermore another reference (Epic of Gilgamesh, *KUB IV*, 12: 16 *i-na* KUR *dá-mi-iq-ma du-mu-uq-šu*, *cf.* §8, no. 5) to the beauty of the dream-figure, a detail which is repeatedly paralleled in classical sources (*cf.* presently).

Returning to the description of the appearance in dreams of a giant figure, attention should be drawn to an Egyptian parallel. In this dream, the Pharaoh Merenptah (§8, no. 16) saw "as if a statue of Ptah were standing before Pharaoh. He was like the height of [x cubits]." Here, the context requires the assumption that the apparition was of extraordinary size. The giant stature of divine apparitions and dream-figures is well known from classical sources as collected e.g. in A. St. Pease, "M. Tulli Ciceronis De Divinatione Liber Primus" (*Univ. of Ill., Studies in Language and Literature* 6 (2–3): 165, note to line 4) and also in E. R. Dodds, *op. cit.*, 109, n. 37. The latter proposes to link this feature of the classical dream-pattern with actual dream-experiences which are interpreted as reflecting the symbolic implications of the appearance of giants in dreams. Although such a connection does not seem *a priori* impossible, the psychological background of dream-records separated from us by two or more millennia is a most difficult topic to investigate and to ascertain. It should furthermore be stressed that the appearance of the carrier of the dream-message (*cf.* presently) as a giant (and endowed with supernatural beauty, *cf.* above) constitutes only one aspect of the complex *mise-en-scène* of the dream in the ancient Near East and in classical sources.

Another and equally important feature of the dream-appearance is the way in which the actual meeting is described. Here we find again a relevant link between the East and the West, a feature which is defined by a key-word. Sumerian, Akkadian, Hebrew as well as Greek dream-reports very often use a phrase meaning that the appearing deity, his messenger, etc., "stood (suddenly, we have to assume) at the head of the sleeper."

In the greatly damaged Sumerian dream-account of Eannatum ("Stela of the Vultures" VI: 25–27, end of the third millennium B.C.) we read already "for him who lies (there) . . . he (the appearing deity) took his stand at his head" (n á . a . r a . . . s a g . g á m u . n a . g u b), and, obviously as the result of classical influence, we meet the very same phrase in Milton, *Paradise Lost* (8: 292) "when suddenly stood at my head a dream." The elaborate description of the first appearance of the Lord to Samuel (I Sam. 3: 10) in a dream (*cf.* p. 188) formulates the mood of this meeting with circumstantial and somewhat hieratic precision: "and the Lord came and stood (lit.: took his stand) and called." The Akkadian reports use here the verb **zâzu* "to take one's stand" as key-word in such descriptions; see likewise the poem known as *Ludlul bêl nêmeqi* (*cf.* p. 217 and §8, no. 14) which uses the words "he (the deity) entered and took his stand" (*i-ru-ba-am-ma i-taz-zi-iz*), and the dreams of Nabonidus translated in §8, no. 12 and no. 13. There exists even an Egyptian parallel. In the so-called "Hunger-Stela," a pious, late forgery, the apparition of the god, Chnum, in a dream is described by the royal dreamer as follows: "standing over against me" (§8, no. 19). In the Homeric epics, finally, the term *epistanai kata* "to stand over the head (of a person)" is quite typical and is recognized as such. It persists also in the dream-reports contained in the Greek dramas (*cf.* simply W. St. Messer, *The Dream in Homer and Greek Tragedy*, p. 6, n. 22; p. 23, n. 68; p. 90, n. 348, New York, Columbia University Press, 1918) and has influenced Latin and medieval European literatures.

It might be to the point to draw attention here to the fact that the Iliad and the Odyssey contain two descriptions of a person waking a sleeper. In both cases, this person takes his stand "at the head" of the sleeper, *cf.* the passages *Iliad* 24: 683 (Hermes wakening Priamos) and *Odyssey* 20: 32 (Athena addressing the sleepless Odysseus, leaning over his head, and speaking to him from this position). This seems to suggest the possibility that the deity appearing to the sleeping person experiencing a dream characteristically chose that position from which to rouse the sleeper.

And this leads us to another feature of the pattern of dream-reports which, exactly as the two preceding (that is, the size and beauty of the apparition and the position at the head of the dreamer) link the reports of the Western (classical) world to those of the ancient Near East.

The already repeatedly discussed *Berufungstraum* of Samuel puts unmistakable stress on the fact that the deity called the name of the sleeping youth before making his appearance. In fact, Samuel was called three times with such intensity that he woke up each time, till Eli informed him that this calling of his name was meant to announce to him a divine apparition. This feature of the dream-description (also attested e.g. Gen. 31: 11) is well known from Greek (and later) sources. There the waking of the sleeping person is always done with the words "Are you asleep, NN?" (*cf.* for references simply Dodds, *op. cit.*, p. 105, n. 13). The Mesopotamian parallel is to be found in a dream already mentioned (quoted on p. 188, §8, no. 10) which corresponds in its elaborate complexity and its setting

in a sanctuary to the dream of Samuel. A priest of the goddess, Ishtar, sleeping presumably in the cella as Samuel did, had a "dream," which, because it obviously had only the purpose of rousing him (the text actually uses the verb *negeltû*, *cf.* below p. 191) from his sleep, is not described in the text.

This *Wecktraum* and the repeated calling of the name of Samuel are both clearly meant to prepare the sleeper for the approaching (dream-)revelation. So Samuel lay down again and the Lord appeared to him in the conventional manner to speak with him; correspondingly, the awakening of the Assyrian priest was followed by an experience which the text terms "nocturnal vision" (*cf.* for this term p. 225.)

The dream itself falls in this specific case into two sections: an introductory experience which is to endow the subsequent theophany with the urgency and the appeal required by the extraordinary circumstances of such dreams (dream-theophany in a sanctuary) and the "message" dream itself.

A Greek parallel should be quoted at this point not only because the pertinent passage stresses the fact that the sleeper awoke (in his dream) to communicate with his deity but also because of another feature of this dream-incident, a feature which will be discussed on p. 192.

The following verses of Pindar (*Olympia* XIII: 65 ff., translation of R. Lattimore, *The Odes of Pindar*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1947) describe a dream which unites conventional with extraordinary features:

> (Bellerophon . . .), endured much hardship
> until the maiden Pallas gave him
> the bridle gold-covered. Out of dream
> there was waking, and she spoke:
> "Do you sleep, king descended of Aiolos?
> Behold, take this magic for the horse
> and dedicate to the father who tames
> beasts, a shining bull in sacrifice."
> To his dream in darkness
> the girl of the black shield seemed to speak
> such things, and he sprang upright on his feet.
> Gathering up the strange thing that lay beside him,
> . . .

This and the preceding passages consider the dream a *sui generis* state of consciousness, a hovering between the eclipse of sleep and the stark but dull reality of the day. Here, it is very much to the point to draw attention to the fact that the Egyptian word for dream (*rswt*) is not only etymologically connected with a root meaning "to be awake" but is also written with the determinative representing an opened eye.

The setting of the dream of Samuel and of that of the Assyrian priest (*cf.* above p. 189) as well as the specific features occurring in them seems to us to indicate the background and origin of all the dream-reports which contain a theophany or its substitutes. We would like to propose that the incubation dream, the dream experienced in a sanctuary or a sacred locality—whether the dream is sought or not—is to be considered the prototype of most of the dreams discussed so far. This would explain—if such rationalistic considerations are permissible at all—the towering size of the dream-appearance through which the characteristic setting of the incubation seems to reach into the dream. The sleeper in the cella, lying at the feet of an image, conditioned by appropriate ritual preparations which nourish his apprehensions and by reports which channel his imagination, distorts this image in his dream into towering size and hears his name called in the stillness of the night.

It is not meant that all dreams which convey a divine message can or should be interpreted as being experienced in an incubation, but only that the pattern of incubation-dreams was considered both theologically acceptable and admissible for literary records. The traditional circumstances of a theophany experienced in a dream furnish the mold into which all dream-experiences containing a message from supernatural powers were cast. In other words, the content of the dream determines the form of its report, and the latter has above all the purpose of endowing the experience with authenticity.

This proposed explanation sheds light also on the fact that these dreams are almost exclusively addressed to male dreamers. Obviously, spontaneous revelations of the deity in dreams are reserved in the ancient Near East to persons of the male sex. This seems to have likewise been the original situation in the Greek world (*cf.* the *Iliad* against the *Odyssey*) where, however, a shift can be observed which is already evidenced in the *Odyssey* and which became still more marked in the Greek dramatic literature. Within the Near East, Hittite texts form a unique exception which will be discussed on p. 197. It should, however, be noted in this context that the type of the dream is important in this respect; "symbolic" dreams tend to be more frequently experienced by women than by men and this might be taken to indicate that they stem from a different level of contact between the worlds of the gods and humans than the "message" dreams. *Cf.* also p. 240.

Before turning to the paragraphs dedicated to the discussion of actually recorded dream-contents, some space should be given to the wording of the second and final part of the "frame" of the typical dream-report. Here again literary conventions have created a pattern of expression which is attested throughout all our civilizations in only slightly varying forms.

Parenthetically, a dream-report should be pointed out in this context which dispenses with the traditional manner of presentation just described. On the so-called Memphis-Stela (lines 20 f.), a dream of the Pharaoh Amenhotep II is reported as follows (translation of K. C. Seele): "His majesty was resting. The majesty of this august god, Amon, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Landes, came before his majesty in a dream

in order to give valor to his son Askheprure (=Amenhotep II)." (*Cf.* also p. 203 for an Akkadian example.)

In Akkadian, the key-word used to describe the ending of a dream is *negeltû* "to wake up with a start"; it refers to the sudden termination of the dream, apparently considered an essential feature of the entire experience and as such worth being mentioned and stressed. The Egyptian counterpart is only preserved in the late story which reports a dream of the Pharaoh Djoser (§8, no. 19), where we find the phrase, "Then I awoke refreshed(?), my heart determined and at rest." This, by the way, parallels closely the following verse of the *Odyssey* (4: 839) occurring in the same context: "But Icarius' daughter, waking with a start, drew a warm sense of comfort from the vividness of this dream."

This specific description of the awakening appears even in the oldest dream recorded in literature, the second dream of Gudea (*cf.* below p. 212), which terminates with the words i.ḫa.luḫ ma.mu$_4$.dam (*TCL VIII*, Cyl. A XII: 12) "he woke up with a start, it was (but) a dream!" The stress which all these words place upon a phase of the dream-experience which to us moderns seems to be devoid of any importance is double: it refers to the suddenness of the transition between dream and waking, and, at the same time, it attempts to describe the surprise of the dreaming person. The sudden awakening marks the reported dream as a unique and meaningful experience, the impact of which should not be blurred by subsequent dreams. The reference to the bafflement of the dreaming person—reflecting, of course, actual experiences—seems to be prompted by the desire to underline the vividness, nay the "objectivity" of the dream which in turn demonstrates its validity and authenticity.

The sudden awakening thus serves the same purpose as the above mentioned attempt in Norse literature (*cf.* p. 188) to prove the "objectivity" of the dream by having the dream-events encroach for a fleeting moment upon the "frame." This is also the case—if only to a very slight degree—with the words of the poet, "the king awoke with the divine voice echoing about him" (*Iliad* 2: 41 f.), which terminate the famous "false" dream of Agamemnon. As to the bafflement of the dreaming person caused by the vividness of the dream at the very moment when the two realities clash, compare the naive phrasing of the Pharaoh Tanutamon (§8, no. 17) "then his Majesty awoke and found them not"; that is, the two heraldic serpents, which, in a "symbolic" way, predicted to him his impending conquest of all Egypt, had disappeared with the dream. There is also a pertinent passage in the "Legend of Krt" (C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature, a Comprehensive Translation of the Poetic and Prose Text* 71: 154, Rome, Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1949) and one in the Old Testament, in I Kings 3: 15, where we read "and Solomon awoke, and, behold, it was (but) a dream." The astonishment of Achilles (*Iliad* 23: 65) mentioned in the report of the dream-appearance of Patroclos, asking for burial, does not belong to the "pattern" but is rather meant to express the shock of the hero caused by the special circumstances of the disappearance of the *psyche* of Patroclos.

We now turn to the core of the dream-report, to its content and to the style requirements that determine in what way this content is to be presented. The dreams under discussion contain without exception a divine message (command or warning) couched in clearly understandable terms which do not necessitate interpretation. The carrier of this message is the central (and mostly the only) figure of the dream.

The nature or status of this central figure differentiates the dream-stories of the Near Eastern civilizations from those of the classical world. In the East, owing perhaps to the overwhelming influence of organized religion, this figure is by necessity divine: the deity (originally that of the sanctuary, *cf.* p. 190) or his messenger, rarely replaced by a sacred emblem or animal. The apparition of deceased human beings is extremely rare, the dream of Nabonidus (§8, no. 13) being—in Mesopotamian sources—the only extant exception. Living persons are not admitted (for a Hittite exception, *cf.* p. 193). In the classical world the situation is far more complex. Although the setting is clearly the same, the central figure is not a deity but rather a demonic being either created by a god for the purpose of delivering a message or a "dream-demon" whose function it is to serve as a messenger between god and man. In both cases, strangely enough, this figure assumes the likeness of a living human being familiar to the person who is to experience a dream. The disguise of the "dream-demon" is quickly dropped when he has contacted the sleeper, hence it is not meant to deceive but is rather the expression of a specific attitude towards the meeting between divine and human beings. The very same attitude is also in evidence when—in waking life—the messengers of the Olympic gods and even they themselves address humans, interfere in battles and assemblies.

Dream-theophanies make their appearance only rather late in the classical world, the early reports avoiding them. In the Near East, however, the theophany is the prototype of the "message dream." The deity appears and addresses the sleeping person for whom submissive consent is the only admissible reaction. Only rarely does a dialogue (*cf.* Solomon's incubation dream, I Kings 3: 5 ff.) ensue, its tenor being always pious, in fact, some texts—such as the dream of the priest of Ishtar (§8, no. 10) and that of Thutmose IV (§8, no. 15)—stress that the deity addressed the sleeper like a mother or a father. Nothing of the stirring urgency of an actual dream-experience, its typical distortion, and its lack of sequence can be

felt in these reports. They record theophanies which for religious or literary reasons are styled as dreams. The essential feature of the theophany, however, its dramatic, soul-shaking impact, the shattering inroad of the supernatural into the reality of this world, the terror-inspiring sight of the deity, etc., have disappeared in the transfer from consciousness to dream. The change of reality-level acts as a cushion to soften the contact between god and man.

As has been stated already, the scene and the actor(s) of the "message dream" are rigidly restricted. The "messenger" appears and is immediately recognized. There is a solitary exception: the Pharaoh Djoser (§8, no. 19) recognizes the god, Chnum, who appears in some sacred disguise, prays to him, and is only then awarded the privilege of seeing the face of the deity. Here again the theophany exercises its influence (*cf.* Moses and the burning bush).

Gestures and actions performed by either of the participants are rarely reported. There are, of course, exceptions. In one atypical as well as in several typical instances the barrier between the apparition and the dreaming person is transgressed. Atypical is the dream-report contained in a damaged Neo-Assyrian letter (*Harper ABL*, 1021) in which a supplicant supports his claims for assistance in a letter to the king (the address of the text is missing) by referring to a dream-theophany. The god, Bêl (^{d}EN), so the writer asserts, spoke to him in a dream, promising him prosperity in Assyria and (lines 19 ff.) "he placed his hand upon my hand (saying): 'My hand (is) upon your hand!' " Here, the wording of the divine message is accompanied and underlined by a corresponding gesture of the god, a gesture which breaks through the curtain separating the world of the gods from that of man. Typical, however, is the dream of the Pharaoh Merenptah (§8, no. 16) where the speech of the giant image of Ptah is accompanied by an action: the god extends to the king a sword with the words, "Take now (this sword) and banish from yourself your troubled heart!" A similar incident is told in the apocryphal second book of the Maccabees, 15:11. Judas Maccabeus saw—in "a reliable dream, a sort of vision"—the prophet, Jeremiah, who handed him a golden sword to encourage him in the impending battle: "Take this holy sword as a gift from God and with it you shall crush the foe!" A parallel from the Greek world is clearly offered by the dream of Bellerophon quoted above p. 190 after Pindar. Here, however, the magic means of securing success is not only given by the goddess in a dream—it remains in the hands of the dreaming person as material proof that his experience was genuine. It is tempting indeed to speculate whether the two dreams which have just been mentioned consciously avoid violating the borderline between dream and waking world and consequently refrain from reporting that with this very sword the decisive battle was fought and won. Has the sweep of the Greek poets' imagination exposed the very core of concept which in the Eastern dream-reports, bound by conventions, was avoided as too flagrant a violation of the boundaries of the dream-world? It is certainly relevant that the dreams in the old Norse literature speak quite frequently of such tokens left by dream-figures (*cf.* Kelchner, *op. cit.*, 114, 128, 131 and 138; even the opposite is attested, *ibid.*, 83, a material object disappearing through a dream). For another instance of a link between the Greek "pattern" and that of the North, excluding the ancient Near East, *cf.* above p. 188.

At this point of the present section dealing with the typology of the "message" dream we plan to treat a group of reports representing special cases of "message" dreams which remain, unfortunately, without any close parallels. They are organized in the subsequent pages as follows: a group of dream-reports bearing on specific messages of the deity, messages which concern the work of the artist; a dream in which the cure of a patient is indicated; a message in a specific setting which deviates from the pattern; and finally, a dream-story which has to be treated separately for expediency's sake, because it does not fit into the dichotomy ("message dreams and "symbolic" dreams) that has been made the basis of the discussion of dreams in this part of the present book.

The twelfth year of the Old Babylonian king, Ammiditana, third successor of Hammurabi, is named —as is customary during this period—after an event which took place in the preceding year and which the date-formula describes as follows: "Year in which he (the king) brought into the [temple é].n a m . t i . l a (as a votive offering) a statue of himself in a praying attitude which [he was ordered to do] in a dream" (*cf.* simply *Ungnad Datenlisten*, 187*b*). This constitutes the first reference from Mesopotamia proper attesting to the dedication of votive offerings requested by the deity in dream-appearances. This pious custom is rather frequently mentioned in the (later) classical world as we know from numerous inscriptions which underline the fact that the dedication of a specific object, the building of a shrine, etc., was ordered in a dream (*ex somnio, in somnio iusso*). *Cf.* for references J. B. Stearns, *Studies of the Dream as a technical Device in Latin Epic and Drama*, vii, Lancaster, Pa., Lancaster Press, 1927 (with literature), and Dodds, *op. cit.*, 108 and notes 30, 31.

Another attestation for this custom is furnished by a large chalcedony bead in private possession on which is inscribed the following curious line: GÎR *ḫi-šíḫ-ti* ^{d}EN.ZU EN.DINGIR *šá ina* MÁŠ.GE$_6$ ^{md}AG.I MAN DIN.TIR^{ki} *i-ri-šú* "(From a) dagger, a request of Sin, the king of gods, for which he asked Nabonidus, king of Babylon, in a dream." Apparently, Nabonidus, in his desire to revive long forgotten religious practices, is imitating here again an Old Babylonian custom which in itself should be taken as an indication that

in that period the dedication of votive offerings motivated by dreams must have occurred more frequently than the isolated reference in the date-formula suggests.

These isolated passages from Babylonia must however be connected with a group of Hittite texts recording the dedication of votive offerings (golden statues, jewelry, weapons, but also sacrificial animals, etc.) to various deities of the pantheon by the king, the queen, and high dignitaries of the court. Among these texts, published in *KUB XV* 1–30, written in the period of the kings Muwatalli and Hattushili most likely by the officials of the temple which was to receive these donations, we find a small group, nos. 1, 3, 5, 12, and 29, which indicate that the vows had been made on account of and in dreams in which the gods and goddesses appeared and requested these very gifts.

There is a definite standardization evident in the Hittite dream-reports of this type and it is only rarely dispensed with. Each entry starts with the phrase: A dream of His Majesty, or, of the queen, etc. Most of the experiences seem to have been auditory only, either unidentified persons, or certain named individuals requiring the sleeper to make a specific vow to a deity. In other cases, the deity is introduced as speaking, but the pattern does not seem to admit of any direct reference to the divine apparition. Rarely the sleeping person is said to have made a promise to the deity in exchange for the intervention of the latter. In such instances it is always the queen who is concerned about the health of her husband (*cf. KUB XV* 1 I: 1–11 in §8, no. 30, III: 8–16 in §8, no. 31, and *KUB XV* 3 I: 17–21 in §8, no. 32). Other reasons, such as neglected dead souls (*KUB XV* 5 IV: 36–39) or the appeasement of a dead person (5 I: 10–17), are sometimes given.

In spite of their stereotyped stylization, these dream-reports contain certain interesting features. The use of iterative verbal forms to describe the stirring and forcible effect of the auditory experience adds a touch of genuineness. The bad conscience of the king who failed to fulfil his vow (*KUB XV* 5 III: 4–14 in §8, no. 33) is reflected in a report which tells about various persons addressing him in his dream to remind him of his negligence. It constitutes, furthermore, an important and meaningful departure from the dream-pattern of the ancient Near East that living persons (even the king himself, *KUB XV* 1 I: 15–18) appear in these dreams (for another instance, *cf.* below p. 198) as well as the dead (*KUB XV* 5 IV: 34–35). One specific dream-incident (*KUB XV* 1 II: 5–10 = 37–41) will be discussed later (*cf.* p. 227) as an isolated instance of a genuine and very human dream-experience so rare in the texts of the ancient Near East.

Among these reports are two dreams which refer to the dedication of works of art representing what the dreaming person has seen. *Cf. KUB XV* 5 II: 39–45 (translation of H. G. Güterbock), "As to the god *Ḫarri* who in the dream was standing on a lion, his form being, however, like that of the Weather-god, and as to (the fact that somebody) said in the dream to His Majesty: 'This is (the god *Ḫarri* of) the father of His Majesty!'—the (priestess) *Ḫepa*-SUM said (concerning this dream): 'This statue one should make exactly as (seen) and give it to the Great Deity (i.e. the deity of the sanctuary to which the priestess belonged)!' " The passage *KUB XV* 5 III: 45–49 runs as follows: "A dream of His Majesty: As to the lion of ivory [which you have seen] in the temple of the god [NN] make exactly alike [for me]—the (priestess) *Ḫepa*-SUM said (concerning this dream): '[One should make] a lion of ivory and give it to the Great Deity!' "

It should be stressed that such dreams correspond in type and purpose to those dreams through which poets and prophets claim to have received divine inspiration, if not dictation. Whether it be in the field of the fine arts or in that of literature (*cf.* presently), the creativeness of the Near Eastern artist can derive its authenticity and legitimation only from the fact that his opus reflects faithfully its prototype in heaven which was revealed to him either in a dream or through a specific and special divine intervention.

The latter point is illustrated by a strange passage in the Old Testament, I Chron. 28: 11–19, which tells how David gave to Solomon the "pattern" of the temple with all its buildings and also the "courses of the priests and the Levites and for all the work of the service of the house of the Lord," besides the gold and silver needed for the appurtenances of the sanctuary: "All this, said David, the Lord made me understand in writing by his hand upon me, even all the works of this pattern" (Verse 19). Note also in this context Exodus 25: 9 which speaks of the "pattern" for the tabernacle which was "shown" to Moses by the Lord (note also Numbers 8: 4).

In their desire to stress the supernatural origin and hence the validity and the value of literary products, authors and compilers alike have often made use of the dream as the alleged medium through which a specific opus was communicated to them. As a literary motif—derived, of course, ultimately from actual though rare experiences—we find such instances only very seldom in the ancient Near East.

At the end of the Akkadian "Epic of Irra," a late (first millennium B.C.) composition, the pious editor has added a short epilogue in which he asserts (*K.* 1282: rev. 6–8, *BA* **2**: 495) that the very god in whose praise the poem was written "showed it to me in a nocturnal vision" (i.e. in a dream, *cf.* p. 225), and when he (the author) rose in the morning, he did not miss or add a single line in writing the opus down. The Egyptian example is less explicit as to the faithfulness with which the dreamed literary work was reproduced by the "author." The first sentence of the "Wisdom"-text known as the "Instruction of King

Amen-em-het" (*cf.* simply J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, 418 f.) has been taken by B. Gunn (*JEA* **27**: 2 ff., but not accepted by all Egyptologists) as indicating that the content of the entire collection of sayings had been revealed to the king by his deceased father in a dream. Hence, the text as such is presented as the speech with which the latter addressed his son and successor.

Hesiod's auditory experience, possibly a dream (Theogony, 22 ff.), reflects the same attitude towards literary creativeness, only tempered by the sophistication of the poet and his public. The transfer of the creative experience from the realm of divine interference—in dream or waking vision—to that of a specific state of consciousness follows the shift in the attitude of the audience, which desires authoritative and supernatural authenticity whatever the origin of the inspiration be. The internalization of the source of such an experience, of the trans-human fountainhead of creativeness, constitutes only a rather recent step in this evolution but a change which we ourselves still prefer to hide behind the linguistic trappings of a not too distant past.

It should be noted that outside of the ancient Near East (and of the civilizations under its influence) such inspirational dreams are a favorite subject in myth and folklore (*cf.* B. Laufer, "Inspirational Dreams in Eastern Asia," *Jour. Amer. Folklore* **44**: 208 ff., 1931), mainly in connection with the creative activities of painters, sculptors, and architects.

The rather obscure dream-story in Gen. 31: 10 seems to have been originally an example of an inspirational dream concerned with the lore of the shepherd. As the text now stands, it hardly makes sense. Apparently Jacob received divine instruction by means of a dream and this enabled him to thwart the crafty plans of Laban and to receive a maximal share from his flock.

For an isolated instance of a dream-incident bearing on the building of a Sumerian temple, *cf.* p. 224.

Another extraordinary "message" dream is contained in a late Egyptian (Demotic) story dealing with the famous magician Khamuas and his son Si-Osiri (*cf.* F. Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis, the Sethon of Herodotus and the Demotic Tales of Khamuas*, 42 f., 143 ff., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1900). The typological background of the dream under consideration is rather complex. Two types of dreams are here fused into one: there is first the type of dream a childless husband or wife has in which he or she, during an incubation, is promised a son—the characteristic "annunciation" dream which presages the birth of a hero, a founder of a dynasty, etc. (for a typical example, *cf.* §8, no. 20). Then there is the dream-type in which a sick person seeks and gets instruction as to how to cure himself with some god-ordained medicine or treatment. This again is well attested especially in the sanctuaries of certain healing deities of the late classical world. There, in medical incubations, the remedy is often prescribed for the hopeful patient by the god of the sanctuary in a dream, as can be seen in pertinent inscriptional records, for which should be noted E. J. and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies* **2**: 145 ff., Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1945.

But in our Egyptian dream, there is involved still another "motif": the wife of Setme Khamuas dreamt that an apparition (the papyrus is very damaged here) asked her about her identity and whether she was seeking in vain to be healed (presumably of her barrenness). Then she was advised to go the next morning to the privy of her husband where a plant grew of which she should prepare a "medicine"—either for herself or for her husband; here again, holes in the papyrus rob us of an important piece of information.

The remedy thus revealed was, of course, fully effective and—in another dream—the prospective father is told how to name the child, who it is predicted will grow to be a famous magician. For the psychoanalyst, there can be little doubt that the "medicine" must have been taken, i.e., eaten, by the wife because the entire situation reflects plainly a so-called "infantile sexual theory" (conception through eating a plant grown on the indicated location). The fairy-tale atmosphere of the Khamuas story is the very place where such normally repressed concepts can reach the level of literature. It should in this context be noted that the Egyptian Tale of the Two Brothers alludes to the very same motif (conception through swallowing a piece of wood from a tree which grew out of a drop of blood of the male).

In this context we may perhaps illustrate the very rare use of dream-experiences for therapeutic purposes in the ancient Near East by means of a curious Hittite ritual which purports to heal impotence in a male. After lengthy and circumstantially described ritual preparations and actions accompanied by invocations of the deity—a goddess as we shall see—the text (*KUB VII* 5 IV: 1–10) runs as follows (translation of H. G. Güterbock):

> Then the patient (literally: the man who has made the sacrifice) goes to sleep (on the bed which had previously been spread out for him in front of the sacrificial table and upon his clothes which had been in contact with the offerings presented to the deity and thus had become "sacred"). And when he will see the deity in a bodily presence in his dream, he will go to her and sleep with her. During the three days during which he is entreating the deity, he will report all the dreams he has seen: whether the deity was showing (herself) to him (only) or whether she was (actually) sleeping with him.

The dream-contact with the goddess which heals the patient is to be compared with the cases recorded in Greek inscriptions which give testimonies of the removal of barrenness from those women who—while sleeping in the temple of Asclepius—had been

"touched" by the god; *cf.* E. J. and L. Edelstein, *op. cit.*, no. 423 (Stela I), nos. 31 (in a dream "it seemed to her that a handsome boy uncovered her, after that the god touched her with his hand"), 39 ("it seemed to her in her sleep that a serpent lay on her belly"), and 42 ("with that snake she had intercourse"). For the corresponding instance concerning a man, *cf.* no. 14 where "a fair boy" replaces the goddess of the Hittite ritual.

A curious document reporting a "message" dream which is extraordinary in many respects should now be mentioned. A letter found in Mari, an ephemeral kingdom (destroyed by Hammurabi) on the middle course of the Euphrates (*cf.* G. Dossin, *RA* **42**: 128, also von Soden, *WO* **5**: 398 f.), was sent to the king of Mari by a high court official on account of a dream reported to him. A minor provincial functionary dreamt that he was on his way to the capital and visited the temple of the god, Dagan, first thing upon arriving in Tirqa, an important city of the realm. In his dream, he performed the customary prostrations before the image and heard in the same moment a voice addressing him (without introduction) with a question. He identified the voice immediately as that of the god, Dagan, and answered. When he was about to leave the sanctuary—so the account of his dream continues—the same voice gave him a message for the king of the country. The message is quoted *verbatim*, addressing the king in the second person singular.

Here is a translation of this document:

Say to my lord as follows: thus (says) Itur-Asdu: "On the very day I dispatched this letter of mine to my lord, Malik-Dagan, a native of Sakka, came to me and reported to me as follows: 'In a dream I had, I was travelling, I (myself) and an attendant of mine, from the district of Sagaratum, in the Upper District, going towards Mari . . . immediately when I came into Terqa I entered the temple of Dagan and prostrated myself before (the image of) Dagan. While I was in prostration, Dagan began to speak and said to me as follows: "Have the sheiks of the Benjamina-tribes and their army come (already) to a peace agreement with the army of Zimri-Lim which came here?" I (answered): "They have not come (yet) to a peace agreement." When I was about to leave (the sanctuary) he said as follows: "Why do the messengers of Zimri-Lim not present themselves regularly to me and why do they not deposit his 'full report(s)' before me? Were that so, I would have long ago delivered the sheiks of the Benjamina-tribes into the hands of Zimri-Lim. Now go, I am sending you herewith with a message; say to Zimri-Lim as follows: Send your messengers to me and deposit (again) your 'full report(s)' before me then I shall . . . them in a fisherman's basket and place them before you!"' This is what this man has seen in his dream and what he told me. Now I am (only) reporting to my lord (but) may my lord heed this dream! Furthermore, if this be the intention of my lord—may my lord deposit his full report before Dagan and may the messengers of my lord (come) regularly to Dagan. The man who told me this dream has to give an animal sacrifice to Dagan and (for this reason) I did not send him (together with this letter). And because this man is (so) trustworthy I have not taken a curl of his hair nor (a piece) from the fringe of his mantle (as surety)."

Leaving aside for the moment the subject matter discussed in this dream interview, the mere fact that the pious dreamer seems to stress that he had only an auditory experience is worth noticing. He heard the divine voice when he was in prostration or when he turned around to leave the cella. In other words, the deity did not appear to him nor did he observe a miraculously talking image. Such "discretion" reveals a curious limitation imposed upon the contact between man and the deity, valid even when the encounter occurs on the dream level.

The dialogue between the god and his worshipper is in a startlingly matter-of-fact vein. The god Dagan —very naively—asks whether the king of Mari is at peace with his enemies; the answer of the worshipper is short and negative. Without showing any reaction to this exchange of words, the reporter of the dream turns then to leave and only at this moment does the god give him a message for the king. This solemn message is, however, preceded by a somewhat querulent and very "human" remark in which the god stresses that he would have helped the king long before if only the latter had sent what the god terms specifically *ṭêmum gamrum*, a "complete/full report" to the temple. The context suggests by such a "full report" the first example of a cult-custom well attested in later Assyria, to wit, a report in form of a letter addressed by the king to his god immediately after a victorious campaign. What the Assyrians termed a "first report" (*lišānu rêšêtu*, *cf.* Landsberger, *MAOG* **4**: 318; Th. Bauer *ZA* **40**: 250, n. 1) was apparently called "full report" (*ṭêmum gamrum*) in Mari. The receiving of such royal reports on battles was obviously considered the special privilege of a sanctuary and had as such most likely political implications. It seems that we have here an attempt of the priesthood of the sanctuary of Dagan in Terqa to gain or to regain prestige by having the god receive such messages from the king of Mari.

This dream-report disregards the "pattern" in nearly every respect. The conventional references to the circumstances in which the dream was experienced are omitted; the dream-story is full of apparently irrelevant details. It is not the god who comes to the sleeper nor is any incubation involved. It seems to us that the entire incident is based on an actual visionary experience which the person who was so privileged saw fit to report to the officials as a dream. The reason for such a *fraus pia* can perhaps be guessed: it is possible that there existed in the religious outlook of the people of Mari a fundamental difference between those who were oriented towards Mesopotamian civilization, from which they received not only the language but also the religious pattern, and those who preferred to remain in the orbit of their own native civilization. If the latter accepted (in contra-

distinction to Babylon) visionary experiences as a valid means of communication with the divine, the reporter of our story might have preferred to cast his experience in the form of a dream which he, probably correctly, assumed to carry more weight with the ruling classes, oriented as they were towards Babylon.

We may take as an indication that the content of this dream was considered definitely atypical the fact that the writer of the letter which contains the dream-report felt obliged to assure the king, his addressee, that the person who experienced the dream was trustworthy.

We intend to terminate this section, which contains a group of special "message" dreams, with another atypical dream as we have indicated on p. 192.

This is a dream from the Epic of Gilgamesh experienced by Enkidu, which happens to be preserved only on a fragment of the Hittite version of the poem (*cf.* J. Friedrich, *ZA* **39**: 19 ff.; §8, no. 6). This is neither a "message" dream nor a dream which alludes to impending events in a "symbolic" way, in fact, it contains no direct reference to such happenings. In this dream, Enkidu sees and hears the great gods deliberate in their heavenly assembly and decide that he is to die. Although this decision is, of course, to materialize in the near future, the dream itself contains neither a message destined for Enkidu, nor a warning for the latter; he is merely given the opportunity, through divine volition, probably that of Shamash, to be present in some miraculous way when his death is decided by the gods. Enkidu is not granted this as a forewarning but in order to indicate to him—and to the "reader"—the reasons which have determined certain gods to ask for his punishment. Seen as a literary device, this dream incident represents an ingenious short cut of the poet in linking together the various strands of his story.

The mechanics of Enkidu's witnessing, in a dream, the discussion between the gods Enlil and Shamash concerning his punishment are difficult to ascertain. It is unlikely that his soul or a part thereof had been brought by some agent into the mansions of the gods, because Enkidu would have reported this journey to Gilgamesh when he told him his dream. It seems rather that the dream made him merely see what was happening at that very moment in the assembly of the gods. Through divine intervention "his eyes were opened" as the Old Testament expresses the peculiar phenomenon by means of which things hidden to the waking senses are, through divine intervention, suddenly revealed (*cf.* Gen. 21:9, Numb. 22:31, II Kings 7:17, 20 and also Luke 24:31). This dream of Enkidu can, in terms of typology, only be compared with that of Jacob in Bethel when he beheld the entrance to heaven, the ladder with the angels, etc. Jacob's dream, however, is fused with a message dream, while that of Enkidu can perhaps be best characterized as clairvoyance on the dream level, or—in classical terminology—an "oracular" dream (*cf. Macrobius, A.A.T., Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* **3**: 2, 9, translated by W. H. Stahl, New York, Columbia University Press, 1952).

Another instance of a dream of this same type is recorded in the story of Petesīs, the hieroglyph-carver to Nektanabo, king of Egypt (§8, no. 23), preserved on a Greek papyrus of the fourth century B.C. found in the famous Serapeum.

In a dream requested by the king on account of certain untoward happenings most probably mentioned in the missing first column of the papyrus, he is made witness to a carefully described meeting between the goddess Isis and the god Onuris. The latter, characterized as a giant, approaches the goddess, who is installed upon a throne erected on a papyrus boat, complaining about the neglect of his sanctuary by Nektanebo and, specifically, about the unfinished work on the re-cutting of the obliterated hieroglyphs on the stone walls of the god's sanctuary in Sebennytos. The dream ends here, rather abruptly, with the revealing remark that the goddess did not answer. The entire dream-incident is clearly meant to convey the complaint of the offended god to the king not by means of a direct revelation or a "message" dream (*cf.* here the demotic dream-story published by W. Spiegelberg, *ZAeS* **50**: 32 ff., and **51**: 137 f.) but, for some unknown reason, by allowing him to witness a scene in which that very complaint is made to the queen of the gods, Isis. Nektanebo, exactly as Enkidu in the dream-story just discussed, is shown in his dream what is happening beyond his human ken.

For a strange and unique combination of a "symbolic" dream with features of the "clairvoyance" type, *cf.* also the dream of the Sumerian god Tammuz (§8, no. 2) discussed on p. 212.

At this point, near the end of the present section dealing with atypical dream-incidents, some words must be said concerning a dream mentioned in a private letter of the Cassite period (middle of the second millennium B.C.). The writer of this rather damaged document (Lutz, *PBS* I/2 60) seems to have had a dream concerning a golden piece of jewelry which had been stolen from the goddess Ishtar. Although the context is broken and the preserved passages far from being clear, the incident, as such, has to be taken as presenting the unique example of a dream which is concerned with the past rather than with the future.

For this we know of no parallel from the ancient civilizations of the Near East; even the classical world fails us (for an exception, *cf.* presently), although the *Iliad* (1: 70) and Hesiod (Theogony 38) stress that the knowledge of the hidden past falls into the domain of the soothsayer (*cf.* Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I: 517–8 *per me quod erit fuitque estque patet*). We may, however, refer here to an analogous incident recorded in

the Old Testament (I Sam. 9: 6–8, 20; 10: 2) in which lost objects are found through the help of a "seer," a "man of God." Thus, Samuel expected to locate the lost asses of his father by asking the assistence of just such a person, who was supposed to receive a small fee for this service.

Cicero's *De divinatione* (I: 25) mentions, however, a dream-incident which offers a revealing parallel to our Akkadian letter of the Cassite period. He speaks of a dream of the poet Sophocles in which a god revealed the identity of a thief who had stolen a golden bowl from his temple. This reminds one, of course, of the fact that among the so-called primitive people dreams are sometimes provoked (or expected) to establish either the identity of a thief or the whereabouts of the stolen property. Thus, our letter furnishes us a unique example of a very primitive type of dream.

3. CONTENT OF THE "MESSAGE" DREAM

Because it happens to be the oldest extant evidence, our presentation of the individual Near Eastern dream-reports of the "message" dream type has to begin with a Hittite text, written in Boghazkeui, the capital of the Hittite empire. It represents the first detailed example of such a dream within the orbit of Mesopotamian civilization (for an earlier instance, *cf.* p. 211) although it originated in its periphery and shows distinct and revealing traces of alien concepts.

In the so-called autobiography of the Hittite king Hattushili (*ca.* 1290–1250 B.C., *cf. Goetze Hattušiliš*), we find the most ample use of dream-stories ever to occur in a document of the ancient Near East. This is obviously due to the king's desire to present his usurpation of rule as being instigated and directed in all its details by the goddess Ishtar. It is difficult to decide whether personal inclination impelled the king to refer to dream-incidents so frequently or whether these stories were meant to increase the appeal of the *apologia pro vita sua* to the reader. As to the latter possibility, it is to be kept in mind that our document is of a public nature in contrast to the Mesopotamian historical inscriptions mentioning dreams which are inscribed on foundation documents destined to be read by gods or kings. (For an isolated exception, *cf.* p. 203.)

It is noteworthy that four of these dream-incidents (§8, nos. 25–28) are described circumstantially by Hattushili, while one other is given a passing reference. Only in one case has Hattushili himself experienced a dream (§8, no. 26), in all others his goddess, Ishtar, appeared either to his wife (§8, no. 27)—to predict her husband's promotion to a high priestly office—or to his uncle (*cf.* presently), or even to princes and rulers whom she thus induced to side with the usurper in his decisive battle for the throne (§8, no. 28).

In this text we have the only dream-report in the literatures of the ancient Near East in which a deity appears in a "message" dream to a woman. Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Old Testament reserve this favor exclusively to the male sex (*cf.* above p. 190, but note also p. 193). Even in the New Testament only a passing reference to the bad dreams of the wife of Pilate (Matt. 27: 19), occurs. The latter, however, are conceived, as always in Mesopotamia, as symptoms of a specific state of mind due to mental stress, disease, or malevolent magic activities. Yet when we turn to the classical world, especially to Greece, we find (as has repeatedly been observed) that, beginning with the *Odyssey* (but not yet in the *Iliad*), significant dreams in which a deity imparts a message to the sleeper are reported by women as well as by men. In fact, the Greek tragedies mention women nearly exclusively as receivers of dream-messages (*cf.* simply Messer, *op. cit.*, 27 f., n. 83).

The problem arises as to whether this unique occurrence of a "charismatic" dream (to use the term coined by Greek oneirocritics) experienced by a woman should be attributed to individual peculiarities of the Hattushili text as such or whether it reflects a different dream-pattern admitted in the literary texts of the Hittite civilization, caused by the different ethnic substratum. A passage from a parallel text (§8, no. 29) (*KBo VI* 29 I: 16–21, *Goetze Hattušiliš* 47) should be quoted here in which Hattushili stresses that Ishtar even determined his choice of a wife in view of the fact that he was destined for the kingship: "Puduhepa was a servant-girl of the goddess, Ishtar of Lawazant, and the daughter of P., a priest of Ishtar; however, I did not marry her blindly(?), but I took her (as wife) upon the command of the deity. The deity assigned her to me in a dream." The social and political position of the Hittite queen, which greatly surpasses that of the royal spouse in Mesopotamia and elsewhere in Asia, seems here to explain her cultic standing, which in turn might have qualified her to receive "message" as well as "symbolic" dreams (*cf.* pp. 193 and 227).

In favor of the substratum theory, however, can the following example be adduced. There exists another Hittite dream-story concerning a female, but not a queen, which, unfortunately, does not report the content of the dream in any detail. The princess Gashuliya is mentioned in a votive inscription (*KBo IV* 6 I: 21 ff., translated: J. H. Friedrich, *Aus dem hethitischen Schrifttum* **2**: 19 f., (Leipzig, Hinrich, 1926) which relates the following incident: In a dream, the chthonic god, Liwani, had appeared to her; she, however, failed to perform the ritual required to ward off the consequences of this encounter, which was obviously considered untoward and fraught with evil. The princess subsequently fell ill and her disease was diagnosed by an oracle as being the consequence of her ritual *faux pas*. A likeness of the princess (in-

scribed with the dedicatory inscription which furnishes us all this information) had to be made, obviously as a substitute for her own person, which was considered forfeited to the netherworld, and was dedicated to the god, together with all kinds of offerings, to alleviate his wrath. Although the content of the "evil" dream of the princess remains lost in the obscurity into which superstitious fear banishes such uncanny experiences, it might be guessed that she met the ruler of the dead or visited the netherworld or perhaps experienced a death-dream, that is, dreamt that she died and went to Liwani (for a Mesopotamian instance, *cf.* p. 213). Such dreams are, of course, not restricted to one or the other sex so that the dream of the princess Gashuliya sheds not too much light on the problem under consideration. Still, no such document has ever been found outside of Asia Minor (for another unique dream of a Hittite queen, *cf.* below p. 227) and it may be taken to indicate that different conventions determined the reporting of dreams in this region.

There is another dream-report in the autobiography of Hattushili which bears on the substratum problem. This is the very experience which first set in motion his long and difficult ascent to kingship and it is reported in a few very terse and abbreviated phrases which contain a number of difficulties. The text states that the goddess, Ishtar, sent the elder brother of Hattushili, named Muwatalli, to his father "through/by means of/on account of a dream," using the ablative case of the word for "dream." He is to deliver a message which is styled in the first person singular and thus represents the speech of Ishtar herself.

This constitutes an example of a person still living appearing in a dream to which there are no parallels in the literatures of the Semitic ancient Near East. For another Hittite exception *cf.* p. 193 and for dead people in dreams, p. 204.

Here is the text as told by Hattushili: "Ishtar, my lady, sent Muwatalli, my brother, to Murshili, my father, in a dream (*cf.* above) (saying): 'There are few years (only to live) for Hattushili; he is not in good health. Dedicate him to me, he shall be a priest of mine!'" There are two possible sequences of events which could underlie the setting of this dream. Either the goddess appeared in a dream to Muwatalli ordering him to go and see his father and to report to him her message, or the father himself had a dream in which his elder son, Muwatalli, appeared to him with a message from Ishtar. The first possibility involves an unnecessary detour; it also makes the brother rather than the father the receiver of the divine message, which is awkward because it is the exclusive right of the *pater familias* to dedicate a royal prince to the service of a deity. Hence, the father must have been the person approached by Ishtar; his granting of her request establishes, so to speak, a new legal relationship between the sickly prince and his divine protectress. It should also be kept in mind that a report that the brother of Hattushili, prompted by a dream, had asked the father to hand over his young son to the service of the goddess would have been (theoretically) verifiable by an outsider, especially since the document constitutes a royal edict accessible to many persons. In short, it seems far more likely that Hattushili wanted to assert that his late father himself had had the above described dream-experience.

This poses, however, a problem: what was the role of Muwatalli in the dream-incident? Why is he, a living person, mentioned in the dream at all? We propose the following answer to these questions: This dream does not follow the pattern of the ancient Near Eastern "message" dream but reflects faithfully and in detail that which is known from the oldest Greek epical literature. Ishtar did not herself appear—that is, as a deity—in the dream of Murshili, but either assumed the disguise of the likeness of his elder son, Muwatalli, or even created what the Homeric epics term an *eidolon*, an ephemeral dream-figure, of the latter. The Muwatalli-*eidolon* then appeared, in the same way as is often described in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, to the old king to address him with words which are styled as if the goddess Ishtar herself were speaking.

Exactly as Zeus, when he turned against the Greeks, sent a "dream" to Agamemnon (*Iliad* 2: 1 ff.) and this "dream(-demon)" assumed the bodily likeness of Nestor, Ishtar dispatched such a figure to Murshili and this figure appeared as Muwatalli. The Nestor-*eidolon* delivered the message of Zeus as a messenger, i.e., in the very wording he had received; and the Muwatalli-*eidolon* addressed the king in exactly the same way. Further parallels from the Homeric epics are well known; to mention only some random examples, Athena fashioned a phantom in the shape of Penelope's sister to give her advice in a dream (*Odyssey* 4: 787), and herself assumed the likeness of a girl friend of Nausicaa (*Odyssey* 6: 13 ff.) to appear to the latter in the same way. Thus the dream-report of Hattushili parallels and anticipates the early Greek pattern which admitted of living persons, always relatives or friends, appearing in "message" dreams. The change of sex—the goddess, Ishtar, appearing as Muwatalli—is not attested in Homeric dreams, but it should be noted that Athena assumed the likeness of a man (Mentor) when she appeared to assist her protegé, Telemachus. It is therefore impossible to decide whether Ishtar appeared in the likeness of Muwatalli or only sent a dream-figure created in his shape particularly for this purpose.

In the preceding lines it has been suggested, to explain the somewhat cryptic lines of the autobiography of Hattushili, that they reflect the existence of a non-Eastern dream-pattern in Asia Minor and that this pattern and that of the Homeric epics show definite parallels. Let us point out here a further

detail which becomes relevant in the light of such a parallelism.

In the above quoted speech of the "dream-Muwatalli," or of the goddess, Ishtar, appearing "as" Muwatalli, the argument which is meant to make the king dedicate his son to Ishtar contains a reference to the poor health of Hattushili. The implication is that in the service of the goddess the sickly prince will get well; otherwise he is bound to die soon. The mere fact that the deity had to give a good reason to induce the king to dedicate his son to her service bespeaks a religious climate different from that of the East. It is, however, somewhat startling that Hattushili himself nowhere mentions that the goddess made her promise good and that he owes his recovery to her. One would expect a pious worshipper not to forget such an incident. The suspicion can, therefore, not be ruled out that the goddess had used a ruse to persuade the king, resorting perhaps to such an action in order to protect the prince. In fact, the text *KBo IV* 12 I: 5 f. (*cf. Goetze Hattušiliš*, 41) confirms that Hattushili was, as a child, very ill, so that the father could be expected to react favorably to the request of Ishtar.

This last point can hardly be decided on the basis of the extant evidence; still it seems possible that the deity resorted to a trick to achieve her end, a behavior which is more characteristic of the Homeric gods than of those of the Near East (*cf.* e.g. J. Hundt, *Der Traumglaube bei Homer, Greifswalder Beiträge zur Literatur- und Stilforschung* 9: 54, n. 41, 1935).

Although the following incident has no direct connection with the Hittite "dream-pattern," it should be mentioned here as demonstrating, from another angle, the existence of a relationship between the Hittites and the Greeks. When the king, Murshili, became disturbed on account of a severe pestilence ravaging his country, he enumerated the various means known to him as avenues of access from man to the gods. In his so-called "Plague Prayers" (*cf.* simply Goetze in *ANET*, 394 f. and 396) he exclaims: "either let it be established by an omen, or let me see it in a dream, or let a prophet declare it!" as well as "either let a prophet rise and declare it, or let the sybils or the priests learn about it by incubation, or let man see it in a dream!"

Murshili reacts here in exactly the same way as Achilles did when the camp of the Achaeans was devastated by a pestilence. The Greek hero then called for either a prophet (*mantis*), a priest (*hieros*), or a diviner of dreams (*oneiropolos*) to establish by means of their respective craft the cause of that disease. We shall have to discuss at a later moment (*cf.* p. 224) the techniques of provoking dreams for mantic purposes but it should be noted in this context that the Greek and Hittite tradition of a divinatory *trivium* has no parallels in Mesopotamia or, as a matter of fact, in the ancient Near East (*cf.*, however, p. 188).

In the light of this and other peculiarities of the stylistic conventions evidenced in Hittite texts reporting dreams—such as women receiving "message" dreams, votive offerings ordered in dreams, the Muwatalli episode, etc.—the following hypothesis can be suggested: Hittite Asia Minor was—in the middle of the second millennium B.C.—crossed by a dividing line between the "Eastern" dream-pattern and that which is much later reflected in texts of Greek origin. Admittedly, none of the points offered are able to carry the full weight of proving "Western" influence in the mentioned Hittite texts; still, the deviation of the Asia Minor dream-pattern from that of the rest of the ancient Near East poses an important and interesting problem.

One more passage of the Hattushili autobiography should be mentioned here. In §12 of the text (*Goetze Hattušiliš*, 33), the king boasts that his goddess, Ishtar, appeared in dreams to all those nobles whom the ruling Hittite king had deposed or treated badly with a message in which she predicted that she would turn over to the pretender, Hattushili, her protegé, all the provinces of the empire. Here we have the forerunner of the dream of Gyges, king of Lydia, reported by Assurbanipal (*cf.* below p. 202). In this dream Assur appeared to a foreign prince in order to change his plans. Obviously, Ishtar herself appeared to the prospective allies of Hattushili, because the message is quoted *verbatim* and in the first person singular. Thus this dream-story follows the "Eastern" pattern.

As has already been stated above (*cf.* p. 187), most of the dreams recorded in Akkadian historical texts are to be found in the inscriptions of the last great Assyrian king, Assurbanipal. None of his three predecessors who have given us a large number of so-called historical royal inscriptions, i.e., Sargon II, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon, mention dreams in any context. Inasmuch as these three kings have left the unmistakable imprint of their individualities on the records composed under their names, the absence of dream-reports could be either an expression of personal attitudes or of the spiritual mood of the period. Still, the Assyrian kings, being also the high priests of the national god, Assur, are not likely to have failed to refer to charismatic dream-experiences if such had been their privilege or the characteristic means of communication between them and their deity.

It has, of course, already repeatedly been noticed that Assurbanipal shows a marked preference for dream-incidents, but it should be pointed out that the dream-reports of his inscriptions are definitely distinguished by a certain originality. They represent an interesting variety of types, and many of them have no parallels in the literatures of the ancient Near East. It is possible that the sudden appearance of such diversified dream-stories is indicative of an unprece-

dented relaxation of the censorship prohibiting the admission of dream-reports into royal inscriptions. If this should be correct, the variety here attested would allow us a glimpse of the actually existing diversification of dream-stories which were only under specific conditions able to reach the level of literature. The reason or reasons for the assumed relaxation of censorship remain, of course, in the dark. It is hardly possible to suggest that Assurbanipal was personally interested in dream-stories, since the king himself never appears in the dream-reports of his annals as the recipient of a dream-message.

This revealing observation is in contrast with the situation in the corresponding Neo-Babylonian inscriptions where Nabonidus repeatedly reports his dreams. One could probably explain this difference as being due to the basic contrast between the political and cultic position of, respectively, the Assyrian and Babylonian kings. The former, as high priest, seems to have considered dream-epiphanies below the theological standing of a king and priest, while his Babylonian confrère, devoid of any priestly rank, views such experiences as extraordinary and worthy of being recorded.

As a matter of fact, in the Neo-Assyrian period oneiromancy seems to have been of rather low prestige. This is made evident by the following observation: the royal archives of Nineveh contain a very substantial number of reports sent to the king to inform him of ominous happenings observed in his realm; these happenings deal exclusively with astrological portents, with those which occur in town and country and with the ominous features evidenced in misformed newborn animals. Never is a portentous dream brought to the king's attention by such a report.

It should also be pointed out that the main series of dream-omina which is translated and edited in the present book is exclusively (but *cf.* below p. 293) concerned with dreams experienced by private persons. Consequently the predictions refer solely to the expectations and apprehensions of the common man. And it is in complete harmony with this state of affairs that throughout the entire known development of organized religious life in Mesopotamia, there were extremely few references to what one would term professional interpreters of dreams who had any priestly or even social standing.

The low esteem in which oneiromancy was held in Mesopotamia will concern us again when we discuss the role of the interpreters (*cf.* p. 221) and the nature and text history of our Dream-Book.

The statement that Assyrian kings do not report their dreams in official inscriptions should, incidentally, be somewhat qualified by referring to a Neo-Assyrian letter, *Harper ABL*, 923. Here a court official writes to Assurbanipal and mentions that the god Assur used to talk in dreams with the king's grandfather, Sennacherib, whose superhuman wisdom the writer takes care to stress referring thus, obviously, to a causal connection between these two facts. Apparently we are still unable to gauge the validity and the cultic implications of the dream-experiences of Assyrian kings (*cf.* for a pertinent ritual, p. 294).

The first dream-report from the historical inscriptions of Assurbanipal to be discussed here reveals, with regard to the dream as a means of communication between this world and that of the gods, the difference between the relationship of the king to the deity and that of a minor priest.

On the occasion of a dangerous invasion by the Elamites (§8, no. 10), Assurbanipal's apprehensions were calmed by a theophany of the goddess Ishtar. This appearance of the deity took place at night, in her sanctuary and was sought in a formal and lengthy prayer by the king, who describes in some detail how he approached her image (*maḫāru*), took his stand in front of it (**zâzu*) and then crouched down at her feet (*akmis šapalša*), praying and crying. It should perhaps be noted that the specific position of the king was such that he could not see what happened; his experience was, therefore, only auditory, exactly as was that of the man from Mari (*cf.* p. 195).

As to the "crying" of Assurbanipal, as pertaining to the ritual requirements of a sought theophany, one can adduce the parallel contained in the dream of the Egyptian king "Sethos" as recorded in Herodotus, 2:114 (§8, no. 22). After having cried to his god, the Egyptian king fell asleep and was granted a dream-epiphany which gave him consolation and predicted his victory. Another instance of a ritual complaint preceding a royal incubation appears in the Hittite text of the legend of Narâm-Sin (*cf.* H. G. Güterbock, *ZA* 44: 57 III: 14 and 17).

Quite in keeping with the style of Biblical and Assyrian theophany records (*cf.* also *Iliad* 24: 171), the goddess Ishtar introduces her speech with the words, "Be not afraid!" which alone suffices, as Assurbanipal stresses, to imbue his heart with confidence. The message of Ishtar is very short; in contrast to the longwinded prayer of the king, she merely informs him that because he has approached her in the correct manner, that is, apparently, in tears, she has granted his wish to destroy the enemy.

This nocturnal and necessarily unwitnessed theophany seems to have been considered to need confirmation. For this reason, the theophany-incident is, in the account, followed by a dream-incident. In the very same night and in the same temple, a priest of Ishtar has a dream which is reported in an elaborate fashion seemingly under the influence of the sacerdotal conventions regulating reports on priestly incubation-dreams (for a pertinent discussion, *cf.* p. 189 f.).

The Assyrian priest first saw "a dream" in his sleep whereupon he awoke with a start and was then shown by the goddess herself what he terms a "nocturnal

vision" (*tabrît mûši(ša) . . . ušabrûšu*). The background and the parallels of this rather peculiar setting have already been presented (*cf.* p. 189.) The reference to the "nocturnal vision" requires, however, some comment. The analogous Samuel-incident is somewhat vague about the physiological state of the young prophet; the Bible text merely says that he lay down to be granted the theophany, which is referred to (I Sam. 3:15) as a "vision," while Josephus, *Antiquities* 10:4, 348, speaks of it unmistakably as a dream. This parallel might, however, be accidental, and *tabrît mûši* might be only a poetical synonym for dream. As a matter of fact, the exact implications of the expression *tabrît mûši* ("nocturnal vision") are still unknown (*cf.* p. 225).

The content of this "nocturnal vision" is given in a direct quotation of the report of the priest, presumably meant to stress the authenticity of the incident. What he "saw" is both novel and unparalleled. A scene, of which he was but a silent witness, was enacted in front of him by the goddess and the king. It began with Ishtar's entrance (*erēbu*) and finished with her exit (*aṣû ana aḫîti*). It is impossible to say whether the priest saw the scene happening in his own room, in the cella if he was sleeping there, or in the room of the king, although the second possibility seems preferable in view of the Samuel story. The apparition of the goddess is described in detail: she enters in full battle array and addresses the king with words of comfort, speaking like a mother to her child. The king answers, accepting her encouragement, whereupon Ishtar bids him stay in her sanctuary while she goes to fight his battle. The goddess is rather explicit about this sojourn of the king in Arbela; he is to eat there, drink beer, and participate in the festivities (*nigûta šakānu*) which apparently constituted the original reason for the king's visit to Arbela. Then the goddess, in an obviously "symbolic" gesture, wraps the king in her baby-sling and leaves the temple (*ana aḫîti*) to go immediately to fight against his enemies.

The following interesting problem arises in this context: do these two events of that night—the theophany of Ishtar, and the dream of the priest—refer to two separate incidents or to one and the same? The text is, as usual, too tersely formulated and perhaps even too reticent to permit any insight. There exists, however, a report of the late Alexandrinian period which deals with a similar incident. Here, I quote *verbatim* the pertinent remark of Dodds, *op. cit.*, 131, n. 83: "For a detailed account of an experience in which the same divine figure was simultaneously perceived by one person in a dream and by another in a waking vision, see P. Oxy. XI 1381, 91 ff." Such a parallel speaks rather clearly in favor of the explanation that the two events just mentioned have to be linked together: what the king experienced and what the priest "witnessed" in a dream seem to have been caused by one and the same act of divine intervention.

This parallelism is important also in another sense. It forces even the sceptic to admit that the dream-incidents of Assyrian royal inscriptions are based, if not always on actual experiences, at least on precedents and expectations derived from incidents which may have occurred in reality or are thought of as possible and as credible. *Cf.* for what might be an analogous case, p. 209.

Stylistically, the reported vision presents itself as a "message" dream of the king, conceived as an objective event and witnessed as such by a third person. The inventive priest introduced, however, a "symbolic" feature by adding the wrapping of the king in the baby-sling. The motif of the mother-child relation had already been alluded to in the report in the statement that the goddess spoke to the king like a mother to her child. The gesture of the goddess is meant to express how the anxiety of Assurbanipal is changed into the infinite security of the babe cradled in the "sweet (-smelling folds of his mother's) baby-sling." As a "symbol," this gesture, at the end of a "message" dream, corresponds exactly to the handing over of a sword reported in the dreams discussed above on p. 192.

The report of the "nocturnal vision" ends abruptly, without reference to the reaction of the king, etc. In fact, the subsequent campaign against the invading Elamites is singularly devoid of allusions to any interference of Ishtar. It should also be stressed that Assurbanipal's acquiescence to the order of the goddess to stay in the temple and to enjoy the festival while she goes to defeat the Elamites ill fits the behavior of an Assyrian king, particularly one having Assurbanipal's personal initiative. Either the king's stay in Arbela and his activities in the sanctuary (which the phrases quoted describe in rather earthy terms) had cultic significance which he (or perhaps better, the clergy) felt should not be ignored, or the delay of the king in counterattacking the Elamites was caused by military considerations which this stay was meant to conceal. Any interpretation of the stylistic and other peculiarities of the entire dream-incident is hampered by our failure to grasp the ultimate implications of the setting (Assurbanipal's visit to Arbela) with its political and cultic connotations.

There is another unusual dream-report in the annals of Assurbanipal. In terms of literary criticism, this incident is not used as a device to explain or motivate a course of action taken by the king; its purpose is merely to add color to the description of a specific situation, in this case, the outbreak of the civil war between Assurbanipal and his brother Šamaššumukîn. The text (§8, no. 11) tells us that a young man in Babylon, the center of the revolt, had a dream (lit.: "went to bed in the evening and saw a dream") in which neither a deity made his appearance nor any

"symbols" or "symbolic" actions were observed, but only an inscription was seen. This writing, of highly unusual content, appeared upon the pedestal of an image of the Moon-god, Sin. It contained a prophecy concerning the outcome of the impending war and not only predicted the downfall of the rebels in no uncertain terms but even described in detail the circumstances, such as conflagration, hunger and epidemics, under which Babylon was to fall at the end of the conflict. This prophecy, a typical *vaticinatio post eventum*, is then taken up *verbatim* in the description of the siege and the capture of Babylon.

The present dream attests for the first time a literary motif, perhaps even a religious concept, which was to increase in importance in the millennium to follow: the revelation of the divine will and intentions in writing. What we have here, still on the level of the dream, has its counterpart in the Old Testament, in the mysterious handwriting on the wall (Daniel 5: 5–30). This, however, happened in waking life, actually before the eyes of those for whom the message was intended. The trend of the late period towards the miraculous is obvious and is paralleled (as observed on p. 210) by the changing mood of the "symbolic" dreams.

The dream of Gyges, king of Lydia (§8, no. 8), will terminate this discussion of the dream-reports contained in the inscriptions of Assurbanipal, since the account of Ishtar appearing in a dream to the Assyrian army (§8, no. 9) is to be discussed in another context on p. 209. With respect to the dream of Gyges, recently dubbed the "fiction of an ambassador" (Gadd, *op. cit.*, 25, n. 5), as well as with respect to other Near Eastern dream-reports which, without too much literary ambition, purport to record actual experiences, it should be stressed that scepticism is as easy as it is pointless. The sceptic is bound to fail to realize the implications of these reports, to use constructively the information they furnish and to fit them into the framework of the conceptual pattern of their respective civilizations. It matters little whether or not they correspond to factual incidents if only their recording follows the stylistic requirements evolved in the specific type of literature and if they remain within the ambit of what was considered credible. We cannot have any other goal but to establish the structure and the individual features of such patterns. They furnish the raw material for our investigation.

Typologically, the dream of Gyges in which the god Assur appeared and exhorted him to accept the sovereignty of Assurbanipal, corresponds to the dreams of the allies of Hattushili (*cf.* above p. 199) in which the goddess Ishtar induced them to abandon their king and to join the pretender to the throne, her protegé. It may be only a coincidence that twice in the same region of the ancient Near East we observe radical changes of political orientation linked to dream-apparitions of deities.

What Gyges reported as having experienced in his dream remains somewhat obscure. The text asserts that the Lydian king, pressed as he was by his enemies, saw the *nibît šumi*, i.e., "the written name" (*cf.* presently) of Assurbanipal and heard a voice ordering him to subject himself to Assyria in order to defeat the Cymmerians who were threatening his country. The visual experience of this dream is not uninteresting. First, it is completely divorced from the auditory, and, secondly, it poses the following problem: Gyges saw a writing which he apparently was able to read as the name of Assurbanipal (variant: of the country Assyria). Now, Assurbanipal stresses, in the introductory phrases of the dream-story, that Lydia, until this time, was outside the political horizon of Assyria, and it is, therefore, quite unlikely that Gyges knew enough cuneiform to be able to read the name of the Assyrian king. What he saw, however, is indicated by the noun used to refer to this mysterious writing: *nibîtu*. The same word is used by Assurbanipal when referring to a dagger he presented to one of the Egyptian kinglets (V *R* 1: II: 13) on which was written the *nibîtu* of his (Assurbanipal's) name. The word means here exactly: "pronunciation," as is also the case in an inscription of Sargon II (Thureau-Dangin, *TCL III*, line 364) where *nibîtu* refers to the difficult phonetics of Hurrian words which the Assyrian scribe strove to render in cuneiform. The word seems, therefore, to refer to the phonetic transcription of an Assyrian name in another system of writing. Hence, Gyges probably saw the name of Assurbanipal (or: of Assyria) in a "Lydian" (phonetic) transcription.

The tenor of the entire story, the atypical nature of the dream itself, which is distinguished by more discretion than one would expect in a gross forgery, and furthermore the haste with which the messenger of submission was dispatched to Assyria, as well as the content of the message which quotes *verbatim* the words of the god Assur, all impart a certain amount of genuineness and credibility to the incident which not even its pompously moralizing "happy ending" can quite impair. Assurbanipal underlines the fact that from that very day Gyges began to defeat the Cymmerians, and Gyges did so evidently without any assistance from Assyria; otherwise Assurbanipal would hardly have failed to mention the fact. Thus it seems that the dream-story was inserted into the annals solely to exemplify and to extoll the power of the mere name of the Assyrian king.

Of the substantial number of Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions preserved, only those of Nabonidus, last native king of Babylon, make reference to gods appearing in dreams. Three such incidents are recorded in his inscriptions, and they show several interesting peculiarities.

In the very first year of his rule, Nabonidus has a

dream (§8, no. 12) in which the gods Marduk and Sin appeared to him (literally: "stood there") with Marduk alone speaking on behalf of Sin. Marduk orders the king to rebuild the ruined temple of Sin in the town of Harran, in Upper Mesopotamia. He formulates this command in a rather specific way by requiring the king to bring to this city the necessary bricks in his royal chariot, hardly an effective method of transporting such objects. Now, Babylonian kings have always made a point of actively participating in the manufacture and the transportation of this essential building material; they are frequently represented carrying baskets with earth and bricks, and a Neo-Babylonian king, Nabopolassar, describes in some detail how he tucked in his royal robes in order to carry a load of bricks. Still the idea of using royal chariots for the transportation of bricks (over such a distance) was certainly only a figment of the pious imagination of Nabonidus.

In this respect, however, one possible explanation should not remain without mention. The Seleucid king, Antiochus Soter I (280–262 B.C.), mentions in his only inscription, translated by this author in *ANET*, 317, that he transported the ceremonial "first" brick from Asia Minor to Mesopotamia (Borsippa) to lay there the foundation of the temple of Nebo. It is, therefore, possible that Marduk was speaking to Nabonidus of the transportation of one specific brick rather than of the material for building the entire sanctuary.

Quite in the vein of Old Testament patriarchs and prophets, Nabonidus begins to argue in his dream with his god, pointing out to him that Harran was now being besieged by the mighty army of the Medes and their allies. Marduk thereupon predicts the utter defeat of this people which will allow Nabonidus to act as ordered. Here the dream-report ends rather abruptly.

In terms of typology, the dream of Nabonidus is a conventional "message" dream into which the proof of its own veracity has been incorporated rather skillfully, inasmuch as the passages immediately following the dream-report contain a "theological" interpretation of the subsequent historical events which led to the fulfilment of the prediction Marduk made in the dream. Here Cyrus, "his young servant" (*cf.* Isaiah 45:1 ff.), is characterized as the tool of the god who was to liberate Harran and thus make it possible for Nabonidus to rebuild the sanctuary there.

It goes without saying that most of the dream-revelations of pious Nabonidus are directly connected with the traditionally foremost preoccupation of a devout Babylonian king, the rebuilding and redecorating of ruined and neglected sanctuaries. Apart from the dream just discussed we have another report in the cylinder published in *CT XXXIV*, 27 f. (*cf.* for details p. 209) in which the king asserts that the Sun-god demanded of him, in a dream, the restoration of a sanctuary in Sippar, and that the very same dream was likewise experienced by many other people. We deal with this type of dream on p. 209. On the same cylinder is recorded furthermore that the goddess Anunîtu of Sippar gave an analogous mandate to Nabonidus: "in a nocturnal vision, in the middle watch of the night, she made me see a dream concerning the (re)building of the temple. . . ." Here, while the dream is only mentioned but not described (*cf.* p. 191 for an Egyptian parallel), the king stresses the fact that it was experienced at a certain time of the night. On p. 240 we will have to discuss the notion widely held in antiquity that the importance and veracity of a dream depended upon the time of the night at which it was seen.

Extreme sophistication characterizes the last dream (§8, no. 13) of Nabonidus to be discussed here. Although the text breaks off in the middle of the report, what is preserved not only does credit to the truthfulness of Nabonidus, which shatters the usual pattern and disregards stylistic conventions, but also reveals the influence of an underlying, rather complex, psychological situation, a rare instance in ancient Near Eastern literature. This dream is recorded on a stela, that is, on a monument destined to be erected in a place where it could be generally read. This in itself seems to have been not without direct influence upon the content of the text and even upon the events of the dream proper.

The dream-report begins without the conventional phraseology, so that only the words "in the very same dream" (line 12) indicate that the sudden appearance of an unidentified "young man" (1-*en iṭ-lu* as frequently in such reports, *cf.* §8, nos. 5 and 14) was part of the dream. The apparition assures the king, in a short sentence, quoted fully, that he need not be afraid that the present conjunction of the "Great Star" and the moon portend any evil. As we shall see presently, this astronomical event had, for reasons unknown, caused the king and his son, Belshazzar, to become apprehensive. This state of mind is referred to expressly in the phrase with which Nabonidus introduces his dream-report: "On account of the conjunction of the 'Great Star' and the moon, I had misgivings."

At this point in the dream, that is, after the comforting words of the unidentified young man, the scene changes with characteristic dreamlike rapidity and Nabonidus beholds (in the very same dream, as he pointedly remarks) the king Nebukadnezzar II standing upon a chariot and accompanied by an attendant.

Here we have the only dream-report from antiquity in which the characteristic unity of scene, actor(s), and action is broken. The pattern which is derived from the basic theophany-nature of the dream-experience and which alone was considered admissible in literary documents from the third millennium B.C. without any essential changes up to the inception of

modern literature in Europe is shattered in this dream-report under the pressure of the state of mind of the Babylonian king. There is however still more to it. This dream contains another *novum:* it is the only report extant from Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Bible (for a Hittite exception, *cf.* p. **193**) in which a deceased person is said to have appeared. This unique exception underlines the importance of our dream.

The motif of the dead asking in a dream for burial has been introduced into Western literature only by Achilles' dream of Patroclus (*Iliad* 23: 62 ff.) and belongs to an entirely different ambit of the dream-world. The ancient Near East admits of meetings with the departed only when the latter are conjured up from the netherworld in order to divulge the future; *cf.* the meeting of Saul and the ghost of Samuel in Endor (II Sam. 28: 5 f.), that of Gilgamesh and Enkidu (*cf.* below p. **234**) and, on another scale, Odysseus' visit to Hades. Here again, the Hittite texts offer a lone exception in a dream (*KUB XXXI*, 77) a queen experiences during "the night of the ritual weeping." This dream begins as follows: "In a dream something like my father has risen again, alive, . . ." and mentions also the grandfather of the queen.

Nebukadnezzar II, however, appears in the dream of Nabonidus not for necromantic, but for political reasons, as will be shown presently.

The seven years which elapsed between the death of Nebukadnezzar II and the rise to the throne of the usurper, Nabonidus, saw three Babylonian kings under rather ill-fated circumstances. The first, Awēl-Marduk, the son of Nebukadnezzar, was, after a short rule, murdered and succeeded by his brother-in-law, Neriglissar, who died after only three years, leaving the throne to his minor son, Labašî-Marduk. The latter succumbed quickly to the uprising which made the elderly Nabonidus king of Babylon. In the patently apologetic report of his rise to kingship, preserved on the stela which also contains our dream-incident, Nabonidus proclaims his political aspirations to be in line with those of Nebukadnezzar II and his murdered son, Neriglissar; he uses the phrase: "I am the 'emissary' (*našparu*—what is meant is probably: heir to the political mandate; or: executor of the policies) of Nebukadnezzar and of Neriglissar, my royal predecessors!" The dream we are discussing is obviously borne of the king's desire to receive a direct and unequivocal recognition of his political mandate from Nebukadnezzar himself and the glamor of a legitimacy based upon a message emanating from the famous king.

The entire account of Nabonidus concerning the cautious and even anxious way in which he approached the god Marduk with the help of the intervention and "good services" of other gods (*cf.* my translation of the stela in *ANET*, 308 ff.), betrays a malaise caused, most likely, by the unknown circumstances of his *coup d'état*, in which a member of the family of Nebukadnezzar was murdered. It betrays likewise the conflict between Nabonidus and the priesthood of the temple of Marduk, a conflict which grew more bitter in the subsequent years and became the major direct cause of the quick downfall of Nabonidus.

The dream-report of Nabonidus is pervaded in all its details with that tang of authenticity which the stylistic conventions of royal inscriptions usually succeed in suppressing completely. Under the pressure of his bad conscience, the king apparently insisted upon disregarding the traditional pattern and introducing such unprecedented features into his dream-report as the change in scene and actors, as well as the admission of a dead person among the latter.

Taking up again the analysis of this dream at the point where Nebukadnezzar appeared, Nabonidus sees him standing on a chariot and accompanied by one attendant (*girseqû*), probably a eunuch. The scene as such is clearly under the influence of iconographic motifs native to Assyria but not Babylonia.

Apparently, Nabonidus was not personally known to the old king and the courtier has to introduce him to his lord. This incident, again, maintains the tenor of verisimilitude, inasmuch as Nabonidus takes care to report an insignificant detail which—even if true—ill suits the stately style of conventional dream-reports. We seem indeed to have in hand here the first dream recorded in world literature in which significance and appeal is not derived primarily from conformity to an established pattern but rather from the inherent power of its authenticity. Such considerations make only more regrettable the missing final section of the report lost in a break in the stela.

The courtier asks his king to address Nabonidus so that the latter can report to him the dream which he has seen. Here is reflected the ceremonial courtesy practiced at court; the king has to address a subject before the latter is allowed to speak. Nebukadnezzar agrees to the request of his attendant (the text has: *išmêšu* "he listened to him," which has exactly this nuance in certain legal documents of the period) and addresses Nabonidus with the somewhat curious phrase: "Tell me what good things you have seen!"

Here is a case in point which brings out again the well-known fact that an exact and correct translation is only possible when the entire gamut of connotations as well as the background of the situation are fully understood. The phrase used by Nebukadnezzar does not belong to the inventory of polite formulae in use at court, but is taken from real life, as are most of the characteristic features of the present dream-report. The phrase in question constitutes simply the customary formula with which the professional interpreter of dreams grants permission to a person to report to him a dream for elucidation. As such, this phrase corresponds in mood and content to the phrase of Joseph

in Gen. 41:16 when he invited the king of Egypt to tell him his dream: "God shall give the Pharaoh an answer of peace!" Patently it was customary that the interpreter use such a phrase as a polite and pious wish that whatever the dreamer had experienced in his dream might portend something favorable for him. The corresponding formula which serves to introduce a bad prognostic offered by the interpreter can be found in the Book of Daniel (4:19). Afraid to foretell anything evil, Daniel remained silent for one hour till the king granted him permission to speak without fear: "Belteshazzar, let not the dream, or the interpretation thereof, trouble thee," whereupon Daniel uttered the apparently traditional formula which is meant to direct the evil of the prediction upon the enemies of the dreamer (and which also customarily introduces bad tidings, *cf.* II Sam. 18:32): "My Lord, the dream be to them that hate thee, and the interpretation thereof to thine enemies."

In fact it seems that it was the purpose of the dream of Nabonidus to proclaim that he had received an interpretation of his astrological dream from King Nebukadnezzar himself. We thus have here the report of a dream in which another dream is told and interpreted, a complex situation indeed, but a situation which is, curiously enough, paralleled in a passage of the Babylonian Talmud (*Berakoth*, 55*b*). There "a dream which is interpreted in a dream" is mentioned as a kind of dream which is certain to be fulfilled. *Cf.* also below, part II note 229 for a passage of Tablet X of the Dream-Book which runs: "If he has seen a dream within a dream (i.e., if he has dreamt that he has had a dream) and (in the dreamt dream) he has "reported" (*ipšur*, *cf.* p. 218 f.) the dream. . . ."

Encouraged by Nebukadnezzar, Nabonidus sets out to describe to the royal oneirocritic the content of his dream: "In my dream, I beheld with joy the 'Great Star,' the moon and Marduk (i.e., the planet Jupiter) high up in the sky, and it (the 'Great Star') called me by my name. . . ." Here the text breaks off, but it can be assumed that Nebukadnezzar offered an interpretation of this extraordinary astrological and miraculous dream which satisfied Nabonidus' desire for posthumous confirmation from his famous predecessor. To promulgate this was clearly the *ratio essendi* of the entire dream-story.

Nabonidus, however, seemed to deem it appropriate to resort to incubation to gain—in a dream experienced under special circumstances—added and indubitable assurances from the gods. This passage contains, as a matter of fact, one of the few unequivocally described incubation-dreams in cuneiform literature (*cf.* p. 188). In the break which has robbed us of Nebukadnezzar's interpretation of the dream falls also the description of Nabonidus' preparations for the incubation. He apparently had fashioned some sacred object upon which—here the text begins again—he placed the images or emblems of a series of stars and planets "as witnesses" and to whom he addressed a prayer for intercession before the god Marduk. He then lies down to sleep and is given the privilege of seeing (the text uses, exceptionally, the verb *naplusu*) the goddess Bau who, upon his prayer, looks upon him and makes a gesture (?) of pardon (*tašrimmi rêma*), thus corroborating the favorable interpretation received in his dream.

The question still remains open as to whether the conjunction described in the dream of Nabonidus and that which—according to the introduction to the dream-story—supposedly caused the anxiety of the king are identical in spite of the fact that a discrepancy exists between the two accounts. The planet Marduk is mentioned in the dream as appearing together with the other astronomical phenomena, but it is omitted—perhaps only owing to an error—in the introduction to the dream-report. Be this as it may, it is somewhat startling that astronomical phenomena seen in dreams are given as much meaning as those which actually occur in the sky.

A welcome corroboration of this apparently typical Neo-Babylonian, or perhaps better, Chaldean, attitude is offered by two documents of the same period. The first is a report preserved in the Yale Babylonian Collection and published by Clay in *YOS I*, no. 39,

> In the month Ṭebîtu, the fifteenth day, the seventh year of (the rule of) Nabonidus, king of Babylon, Shumukîn reports as follows: In a dream I saw the Great Star, Venus, Sirius, the moon and the sun, and I shall (now) investigate them with regard to a favor(able interpretation) for my lord Nabonidus, king of Babylon, and with regard to a favor(able interpretation) for Belshazzar, the crown prince. In the month Ṭebîtu, the seventeenth day, the seventh year of (the rule of) Nabonidus, king of Babylon, Shumukîn reports as follows: I saw the Great Star and I shall (now) investigate (it) with regard to a favor(able interpretation) for my lord Nabonidus, king of Babylon, and with regard to a favor(able interpretation) for Belshazzar, the crown prince.

The other document is badly preserved. It comes from the British Museum (Th. G. Pinches, *RT* **19**: 101 f.; *cf.* also E. F. Weidner, *RSO* **9**: 298) and is dated to the fourteenth and fifteenth years of a Persian king named Artaxerxes. It reports in short and stereotyped passages that a certain Bêl-iddannu saw various stars and planets five nights during three months (with exact dates), but always "in a dream."

The recording of ominous events which have occurred on the dream level is attested not only in this late period. A unique and quite difficult text of the Cassite rule, found in Nippur and published by H. F. Lutz in *JAOS* **38**: 82 ff., contains detailed reports on a series of extispicies which, according to repeated and explicit statements of the tablet, were observed in dreams. It is, therefore, clear that ominous events or features were, in Mesopotamia, considered equally valid, whether they occurred or were observed in this waking world or on the reality level of the dream.

The very same attitude is, as a matter of fact, expressly stated in a Sanskrit opus (thirteenth century A.D.) on the interpretation of dreams: "Every omen mentioned in the sacred writings of yore, may it portend (in waking life) luck or misfortune, is also good or bad (when) seen in a dream," reads verse 158 of the dream-book of Jagaddeva (*Der Traumschlüssel des Jaggadeva, ein Beitrag zur indischen Mantik*, edited and translated into German by J. von Negelein, Giessen, Töpelmann, 1912).

This concept of what we would like to term the "theological reality" of the dream (*cf.* below p. 237 for this expression) is likewise reflected in a passage of the Babylonian Talmud (*Nedarim* 8*a*) which attributes to a ban pronounced against a person in a dream as much effectiveness as to one enacted in waking life.

4. CONTENT OF THE "SYMBOLIC" DREAM

In a literary "frame" (for specific differences *cf.* p. 213) similar to that of the "message" dreams discussed in the preceding sections occur also dreams of an entirely different nature. The reports studied and analyzed so far have shown such a far-reaching influence of an elaborate and very specific standardization that it has, in certain cases, allowed us, by utilizing the pertinent evidence from other civilizations, to gain an understanding of most of the implications they contain. Now, however, we turn to those dreams of which Cicero's words (*De divinatione* 2: 71) are true: *Nihil tam prepostere, tam incondite, tam monstruose cogitari potest quod non possimus somniare*, "We can dream about anything, no matter how preposterous, topsy-turvy or unnatural it may be."

In such dreams man meets a world whirling with strange objects and unprecedented activities and happenings, teeming with gods, demons, humans, and beasts; a world which extends in sweep, variety, and intricacy far beyond that to which the duller senses of man's waking consciousness grant him access. However, only an infinitesimal section of this whirlpool is ever given admission to the literary documents of our civilizations. Here censorship is extremely rigorous—much stricter in the ancient Near East than in the classical civilizations—and admits only reluctantly the reports of such dreams. And even when admitted they remain restricted to those ambits of the literary effort in which are predominant the influences of a mythical past or of the creative imagination, rather than the desire to record or to reproduce realities.

In these dreams—in spite of the baffling variety of their contents—a series of more or less rational activities, actions, and gestures are performed for the benefit of the dreamer, as a rule silently and with gods, stars, animals, and objects of every description as actors. This performance is endowed with a specific meaningfulness, which fact impresses itself upon the sleeping person with conviction. These are the dreams which Macrobius (W. H. Stahl, *op. cit.*, chap. 3: 10) terms "enigmatic" because they "conceal with strange shapes and veil with ambiguity the true meaning of the information being offered and require an interpretation for its understanding."

Artemidorus, the most famous oneirocritic of antiquity, uses the term "allegoric" to characterize such dreams. This word cannot be accepted in the present book because it has acquired (in the meantime) a somewhat different connotation; we prefer, therefore, to speak of "symbolic" dreams, using quotation marks to differentiate this usage of the word from that of the modern, psychoanalytic interpretation of dreams.

As to its function, the "symbolic" dream of the ancient Near East is considered a "message" dream with its message not expressed in clear words but transmitted in a specific way by which certain selected elements of the message, such as persons, key-words, actions, etc., are replaced by other elements. The mechanism of this substitution remains in most cases obscure, and there is little hope that we shall ever succeed in analyzing with any degree of accuracy the associations which link the substitute to the original.

In our civilizations, only those "enigmatic" dreams (to use the term of Macrobius) are recorded which are followed by their interpretation. The dream and its interpretation form an indivisible unit. This is pointedly stressed in a passage of the Babylonian Talmud (*Berakhot*, 55*a*) where a dream without interpretation is likened to an unopened letter. Within civilizations which, like those of the ancient Near East, refuse to admit the presentation of individual psychological experiences into the domain of literature, dreams without interpretation have to remain in the anonymous orbit of the "Evil Dream" which befalls man much like demonic beings, bothering and defiling him (*cf.* for details p. 229).

There are, however, a few instances of "symbolic" dreams in which interpretations can be dispensed with. Such are the self-explanatory dreams of Joseph foretelling his future supremacy over his family (Gen. 37: 5 f. and 9 f.). It is immediately evident to Joseph as well as to his brothers (*a*) that the sheaves standing around his sheaf and making obeisance, or that the sun and the moon and the eleven stars showing their submission to him, forecast future events, and (*b*) that the sheaves and the stars "symbolize" the brothers, while the luminaries refer in the same way to his parents. Their reactions show this. The structure of this dream is very simple; it substitutes objects and phenomena in the sky for persons, taking even their social rank into consideration.

As an Egyptian example of a self-evident "symbolic" dream, *cf.* that of the so-called "Legend of the Possessed Princess" (§8, no. 18) in which the Prince of Bekhten sees the divine golden falcon flying up into the sky and returning to Egypt. This action the prince interprets correctly as expressing the desire of

the god to return to his native country, and he obeys promptly the command which was given him in this dream. The homeward flight of the sacred bird is clearly "symbolic" of the nostalgia of the deity. Another example is the dream of the Pharaoh Tanutamon (*cf.* p. 187 and §8, no. 17) in which the courtiers, not professional dream-interpreters, explain the transparent "symbolism" of the dream-content. It should be stressed here that these two dreams constitute the entire known evidence for "symbolic" dreams in Egyptian royal inscriptions and that they are both self-explanatory.

In Mesopotamia, where "symbolic" dreams are restricted to those literary documents which record myths in epical form (for an exception, see p. 211), we can only refer to the admixture of "symbolic" gestures or acts in "message"-dreams. *Cf.* the dream of the priest of Ishtar (§8, no. 10) with the goddess wrapping the king in her baby-sling (*cf.* p. 201).

Normally, however, the content of the "symbolic" dream requires the art of the interpreter. The person who has experienced such a dream is faced with two grave problems: to establish whether the dream in its apparent lack of meaning and sense or in its irrelevance is to be ignored as devoid of meaning or whether it is to be recognized as bearing on himself, his family or his country; and—in case the dream has, for any reason, been accepted—to have the message it contains "decoded." The message itself deals always with future events; neither the past nor what takes place, in the present, beyond the perception of human eyes is disclosed in such dream-experiences.

Each of our civilizations tackles these two problems in a different but very characteristic way. The Old Testament, being the product of a revealed, monotheistic religion, accepts in principle individual charismatic experiences (in waking life as well as in dreams) but differentiates between those dreams in which the Lord (or his angel) communicates with worshippers and prophets and the "false" dreams of which e.g. Jeremiah (23: 25 f.) says: "Behold, I am against them that prophesy false dreams, saith the Lord, and do tell them, and cause my people to err by their lies." This, however, refers most likely only to "false" message-dreams which purport to offer divine revelation.

"Symbolic" dreams are, in the Old Testament, reserved for the "gentiles." The Lord sent the Egyptian officials, the Pharaoh of the Exodus and Nebukadnezzar such dreams, but he provided them, at the same time, with the interpreter (Joseph and Daniel respectively) to make his message understandable. The dream told in Judges 7: 13 f. is, on account of its unique circumstances which will be discussed later (*cf.* p. 210), more complex.

Outside of the peculiar religious climate of Palestine, the recognition as well as the interpretation of "symbolic" dreams is considered as depending on the intelligence of the dreaming person. This is shown for Egypt by the dream-report of the Pharaoh Tanutamon (§8, no. 17). This report is stylistically very elaborate and contains all the features pertinent to such reports, that is: the setting of the dream, its content and interpretation as well as the triumphant verification by actually occurring events. Tanutamon dreams of two serpents appearing on his right and left. Upon being questioned for the meaning of this dream, "they" (hardly professional interpreters of dreams, but rather the courtiers to whom he told his dream) interpret the serpents as the goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt who, presumably by their heraldic position, predict the conquest of the entire country by the king. When this comes true, the Pharaoh remembers his dream, remarking with a touch of genuineness rare in inscriptions of this type: "True indeed is the dream! It (i.e. a dream) is beneficial to him who sets it in his heart (but) evil for him who understands (it) not." This somewhat sententious formulation seems to imply that the victorious king is proud that he had recognized the importance of the dream of the serpents and was thus able to understand the message contained in their appearance.

In a similar vein is a passage from the Mesopotamian story of the Flood. This episode tells us of the rage of the god Ellil who had brought about the Flood in order to exterminate mankind and then discovered that Uta-napishtim, the Babylonian Noah, had escaped (*Thompson Epic*, Tablet XI: 195–196). The clever god Ea who is under suspicion of having betrayed the intentions of the divine assembly, defends himself with the words: "I have not revealed the secret (plan) of the Great Gods, I have (only) shown a dream to the 'All-wise' (i.e. Uta-naphishtim) and he (thus) learned (text: heard of) the secret of the Great Gods." This clearly means that the message of warning given by the Ea in a dream to Uta-napishtim was not given in immediately understandable terms but rather in a "symbolic" way, so that only the keenness of intelligence of Uta-napishtim saved him and his family, and thus mankind, from the catastrophe of the flood.

In their uncertainty in deciding whether a given non-rational dream-content was "meaningful," i.e. endowed with mantic implications, the Mesopotamians often resorted to the information provided by other media of communication between the deity and mankind. In an Old Babylonian omen-text which derives predictions of future events from the behavior and the external features of a sacrificial lamb, we read, side by side, the two apodoses: "the dreams of the king will be trustworthy (true)" and "his dreams will be false (*sarrā* versus *kênā*)" (*YOS X* 51: 21–22 = 52: 21–22).

Even dreams which have been professionally interpreted seem at times to require divine confirmation through a "sign" or the like (*cf.* for examples pp. 205 and 212).

As to the Greek attitude on this point, suffice it to quote the immortal words of Aeschylus spoken by Prometheus (l. 442 ff.) "many ways, too, of divination I arranged for them (i.e. men): first I taught them what sort of dreams were destined to prove realities. . . ." This means, in other words, that the faculty of recognizing certain non-rational dreams as "meaningful," as containing a divine message, was considered as important as that of interpreting these dream-contents, i.e. of "translating" them into understandable terms; and furthermore that both faculties were traced back to divine instruction. Again, the "symbolic" dream, its recognition and its interpretation as well all originate from the same fountainhead.

There exists, however, one device through which the deity, if he so chooses, can give additional stress and perhaps also increased clarity to a dream-message which consists of "symbols" or "symbolic" actions. This is the repetition of the dream, which underlines its importance and can hardly fail to attract the attention of the most obtuse of prospective recipients of the divine message. Such repeated "symbolic" dreams are well known from the Old Testament (see the two dreams of Joseph which foretell his rise, and the two dreams of Pharaoh) but they occur also in Mesopotamia. In the Epic of Gilgamesh, the arrival of Enkidu, the friend and companion of Gilgamesh, is preluded by a double dream of Gilgamesh (§8, nos. 3, 4 and below p. 215). A threefold dream is—in somewhat damaged context—recorded in the same epic and will be discussed *in extenso* on p. 215. Three parallel dreams occur furthermore in the religious composition known as *Ludlul-bêl-nêmeqi* (for details *cf.* p. 217), but they will not be considered in the present context since their content is not "symbolic."

The utmost use of the device of repetition is made in the very fragmentary Hittite story of the Hunter Keshshi (*cf.* Friedrich, *ZA* **49**: 235 ff., and Th. H. Gaster, *The Oldest Stories in the World*, 144 ff., New York, Viking Press, 1952). This hero had incurred the wrath of the gods because he had neglected, on account of his newly-wed wife, his sacrificial duty of offering them their wine rations. His mother sends him into the mountains to hunt. There he stays without any success for three months. After a break in the text, we learn that Keshshi had seven dreams which he reported to his mother to have them "interpreted." They are all clearly "symbolic" but his report is, unfortunately, rather damaged. In the second dream is mentioned, in broken context, a door; the third dream speaks of a bird flying from the *Natar*[. . .]-mountains, and of servants doing their work; in the fourth a mighty stone falls from heaven, killing the servants and another person; the fifth deals with the divine ancestors of Keshshi, who are described as striving to keep a fire going; in the sixth dream the hunter is said to have a wooden collar around his neck and wooden *patalḫa* (perhaps sandals), as worn by women, on his feet; and in the seventh, the final dream, Keshshi sees himself rushing out of a door to hunt lions, but finds *elliyankuš*-dragons and (female) *damneššara*-demons(?) at both sides of the door. When Keshshi rises from his sleep he tells his dreams to his mother who is to give him their "word," i.e. their meaning. Her interpretation is difficult to understand, not only because the text is damaged but also because it is offered in a rather general way without reference to the contents of the dreams. As far as we can see, it seems unlikely that all seven dreams were variations upon one basic theme (*cf.* presently); we have perhaps to assume that they refer in some obscure way to actual episodes of the story which are still unknown.

The repetition of dreams of a "symbolic" nature could well be a result of the influence of actual dream-experiences. For observations of such incidents, *cf.* e.g. F. Alexander, "Dreams in Pairs and Series," *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* **6**: 446–452, 1925.

Seen from the purely literary point of view, these variations repeat the message of the deity by replacing, as a rule, one "symbol" with another without disturbing the scene, the mood, and the trend of the action of the first dream. This is amply illustrated in the well-known Biblical examples already mentioned. In Joseph's dreams, the sheaves are replaced by stars, in that of Pharaoh, the kine by ears of corn, but they all perform the same actions and their number does not vary. The double dream of Gilgamesh offers another example: the "symbol" for the arriving friend is in the first dream an object called "*kiṣru* of the god Anum," in the second an axe of strange appearance. Yet, in both dreams, the central "symbol" is thrown from the sky into the midst of the assembled inhabitants of the town, and their reactions and those of Gilgamesh are the same in both dreams (*cf.* for details p. 215).

It should be noted that the classical world uses the device of repeating "symbolic" dreams only very rarely. The curious dream-incident told by Herodotus (7: 12–17) should be adduced here although the dream is of the "message" type and not "symbolic." We learn here that Xerxes was asked in a dream which recurred on two and even three successive nights to invade Greece and thus—this was the plan of the deity—bring about his own defeat. In this story, the Greek concept of the "objectivity" of the dream has led to the absurdity of having the dream-figure appear even to the king's councillor whom he had sleep in the royal bed in order to test the genuineness of the dream. More to the point are the two dream-incidents recorded in Cicero, *De divinatione* 1: 25 and 26 which report a repetition of message-dreams—with increasing intensity—to induce the reluctant or cautious receiver of the divine command to obey. *Cf.* also the dream-story in Tacitus, *Historiae* IV 83, which parallels

and embellishes the incident reported by Plutarch (§8, no. 21) and makes use of the same motif.

There exists, however, in the late classical world (and in the New Testament, Acts 9: 10–16, but *cf.* also Josephus *Antiquities* XI, 8: 4–5) a device which, as to its function, seems to be comparable to the repetition of "symbolic" dreams just discussed. These are the reports that two persons have experienced (preferably during the same night) either identical dreams or dreams which confirm each other. The pertinent material has recently been collected by A. Wikenhauser in an article entitled "Doppelträume" in *Biblica, commentarii ad rem biblicam scientifice investigandum* **29**: 100–111, 1948.

The reason for making any reference to this literary device in this context can be found in two pertinent Mesopotamian dream-reports, the intrinsic importance of which has, so far, not been recognized.

In his account of the crossing of the rampant river Idid'e Assurbanipal (§8, no. 9) departs from the conventionalities of the standard dream-reports by indicating that the goddess Ishtar had appeared "in a dream" to his dejected army with words of encouragement. This can only be taken as reporting that the entire army, or at least a sizable proportion of it, experienced the very same dream and heard identical encouraging words. Thus we have here, perhaps for the first time in literary history, the motif of divine intervention (in a dream), affecting entire armies in a difficult situation or during crucial battles. The classical tradition likewise knows of this motif which has persisted in many disguises and on different levels of consciousness (vision for dream) through more than two millennia and is recorded in numerous cases in modern European literatures. It has even appeared as late as during World War I.

Another Mesopotamian instance of a dream experienced by a number of people is contained in an inscription of the Chaldaean king Nabonidus. In one of his numerous building inscriptions (*CT XXXIV* 28: 67) dealing with his favorite topic, the erection and rebuilding of sanctuaries, Nabonidus asserts that the god Shamash demanded of him the rebuilding of the famous old temple, É . BABBAR, in Sippar "in a dream which I had and which (other) people had" (*i-na šu-ut-ti šá a-mu-ru ù* UN.MEŠ *i-tam-ma-ru-ni.*) The content of these dreams is not mentioned nor are any details given as to the circumstances. Since Nabonidus hardly intended to imply that the Sun-god addressed his order to rebuild the temple to anybody but the king himself, he alone being theologically as well as practically responsible for such pious works, the dreams dreamt by his subjects must have been different from the royal dream. Theoretically, such dreams could have shown the god appearing to the king and ordering him to rebuild the temple and could thus have corresponded to the dream of the priest of Ishtar (§8, no. 10) who saw his goddess appear to Assurbanipal (*cf.* p. 201).

These two dream-stories of the late period bring to one's mind the theoretical digressions of the dream-book of Artemidorus (Book I, end of first chapter) where he discusses what he terms "political" dreams, i.e. identical dreams experienced by the inhabitants of an entire city and concerning impending events affecting the *polis* (*cf.* for a Talmudic example *Ta'anith* 21*b*, for a classical, Plutarch's *Lives*, Alexander 24).

All these simultaneous or repeated dreams of the classical world are—this has to be stressed—"message" dreams, while the repetition of "symbolic" dreams with slight variations seems to be a specific feature of the dream-pattern of the ancient Near East.

Parenthetically, it should be noted that the literary device of simultaneous dream-experiences is ideally suited to love stories wherever this type of literature is admitted. This use seems already to be foreshadowed in the famous passage of the *Odyssey* (20: 90–99): " '. . . this very night one seemed to lie by my side, in the likeness of my lord, . . .' So she (Penelope) spake. . . . Now goodly Odysseus caught the voice of her weeping, and then he fell a musing, and it seemed to him that even now she knew him and was standing by his head." This dream motif became of primary importance for the typical plot of the Greek (*cf.* E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, 2nd ed., 47 f., Leipzig, Breitkopf & Hertel, 1900) and the Indian novel (*cf.* M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur* **2**: 120, Leipzig, Amelang, 1908–1922).

At this point we must revert again to the main topic of the present section and devote some space to the relationship between "message" dreams and "symbolic" dreams in individual civilizations. It has been stated already that the Egyptian texts know of only two "symbolic" dreams and that these are of the self-explanatory type (*cf.* above p. 206 f.). As to Mesopotamia, we have found that full-fledged "symbolic" dreams are recorded, as a rule, only in literary texts dealing with epical material, while the so-called royal inscriptions offer exclusively instances of "message" dreams. And this likewise holds true for Hittite texts.

The Bible, that is, the Old Testament, offers an illuminating contrast to all the other civilizations of the ancient Near East by actually favoring reports of "symbolic" dreams in historical settings. Yet a specific restriction can be observed: all these "symbolic" dreams are experienced by the "gentiles"; to his own people the Lord speaks in "message"-dreams and not in "dark speeches" (Num. 12: 8). Here is expressed a discrimination in the evaluation of these two types of dreams which might be the reason for the distribution of "message" and "symbolic" dreams just observed in Egyptian and Mesopotamian royal inscriptions. It is possible that these documents clearly prefer "message" dreams because the sacer-

dotal character of Near Eastern kingship (for a qualification, *cf.* p. 199) admits only of dream-communications with the deity which are, in terms of theology, of the rank of epiphanies. "With him I will speak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches; and the similitude of the Lord shall he behold."

The "symbolic" dreams of the Old Testament occur, as has already been stressed, together with their interpretations, and such dreams as those of the Egyptian court officials (Gen. 40: 5 f. and 16 f.) and of the Pharaoh himself are real gems not only as to the literary merits of their presentation but also as to their exegesis. It is patent that clever interpretations of dreams were greatly admired. It seems to have constituted the very acme of the skill of an interpreter to recognize the fundamentally differing meanings of the two dreams of the Egyptian officials, to build them up in a cleverly deceiving analogy and to "translate" them with graceful sophistication into predictions of diametrically opposite nature. This feat remains without parallel. The recorded achievements of Greek oneirocritics reveal a kindred interest and pleasure taken in such refinements in the art of interpreting dreams. It seems noteworthy that the classical examples prefer instances of contrasting exegeses based on one and the same dream-content with the obvious and apparently logical interpretation shown elaborately as being wrong. An example quoted by Cicero (*De divinatione* 2: 70) from a treatise on dream-interpretation of the fifth-century sophist Antiphon (quoted here after K. Freeman's translation of Diels, Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, *Ancilla to the Presocratic Philosophers* 153, Oxford, Blackwell 1948) will suffice to illustrate this:

> An Olympic competitor dreams that he is driving a four-horse chariot; the interpreter says "You will win," but Antiphon says "You will lose, because four have run before you." Another competitor dreams that he is an eagle; this is thought to mean victory, but Antiphon says "You will lose," because the eagle pursues other birds and so comes after.

Most of the "symbolic" dreams of the Old Testament occur in a context which is typical. They are primarily meant to serve as a vehicle for the display of the piety and the sagacity of their god-inspired interpreter. The Lord is always represented as sending a "symbolic" dream in order to demonstrate to the gentile ruler that his servant alone, whom he himself has instructed in visions, etc., is able to "decode" the message of the Lord. The pious interpreter then puts to shame the gentile experts who dare to attempt to interpret a "symbolic" dream sent by the Lord. Here, the "magicians" and "wise men" of Egypt fail exactly as the "magicians, astrologers and sorcerers and Chaldaeans" of King Nebukadnezzar. In the case of the latter's dream, the purpose of the entire incident is made still more obvious. The first dream of this king is clearly intended to serve as a foil for the supreme achievement of Daniel, who is to interpret a dream which the dreamer himself has forgotten. Here, in this late text, the interpreter of dreams turns performer of miracles. The secret of the dream, as well as its correct interpretation, is revealed to Daniel by the God of Heaven in a vision.

Another change can be observed which differentiates the "Chaldaean" dreams (i.e., those interpreted by Daniel) from the much earlier "Egyptian" (interpreted by Joseph). The "symbols" of the latter are taken from life and express the hidden meaning of the message solely by their extraordinary actions (*cf.* also the dream of Penelope, *Odyssey* 19: 509 f.), while those of the former are far more fantastic in their nature, and their setting is in a peculiar frame of reality. Here we meet the "Great Image" which foretells in the materials of which it is composed the progressing deterioration of the dynasties. It "symbolizes" thus an empire and is, as such, a curious precursor of all those "symbolic" giant dream-figures which represent nations or countries in the New Testament (Acts 16: 9) and in classical sources (for references *cf.* A. Wikenhauser, "Religionsgeschichtliche Parallelen zu Apg. 16: 9," in *Biblische Zeitschrift* **24**: 180 ff., 1935–1936). This image, the sky-reaching wonder-tree felled by the command of the heavenly "watcher" and the "holy-one" are the products of a more frenetic imagination than that which expresses itself in the dreams interpreted by Joseph. The apocalyptic flavor is unmistakable in the dreams told to Daniel, and a far more theological world-view speaks out of every line.

Against all these dreams which were dreamt by kings, concern mighty peoples, and require god-inspired interpreters, the dream incident reported in Judges 7: 13 f. forms a marked and interesting contrast. Here, a "symbolic" dream of a more primitive nature, yet endowed with the persuasiveness of a genuine experience, is told by a common soldier and promptly interpreted by another. The entire episode, the dream and its interpretation, occurs in the camp of the enemy for whom the dream portends evil. However, through a direct intervention of the Lord, Gideon, the leader of the Israelites, is made to overhear the relation of the dream as well as its interpretation. He gladly "accepts" the prediction it contains as an encouraging omen given to him by his god.

The "symbolism" of the dream is rather crude, reflecting, as a matter of fact, the world of the common soldier: a barley-cake, the staple fare of the army, had rolled into the camp and overturned the tent of the leader. The mood of the dream-content reminds one of the dreams interpreted by Joseph; the "symbol" is taken from every-day life; its size, however, and its actions are distorted in true dream-fashion. The interpretation is given immediately by a comrade to whom the soldier told the dream (for this reaction of

a dreaming person, *cf.* below p. 217 f.). The barley cake is explained as the sword of Gideon, its action as predicting the defeat of the army: "into his (i.e. Gideon's) hand hath God delivered Midian and all the host!"

Analyzed phenomenologically, the incident constitutes a conjunction of two separate media of communication between the divine and man. Both are used in this rather complex setting to transmit a divine message. The two media are those of the ("symbolic") dream and of a specific type of divine communication which materializes through apparently accidental utterances of some chance person which strike the receiver of this type of "message" with such persuasiveness that he realizes that a divine agent has put these words into the mouth of that person.

The Greeks termed the technique of interpreting ominous happenings of this genre cledonomancy (*cf.* simply A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'Antiquité* **1**: 154 ff., Paris, Leroux, 1879–1882). There is an incident recorded in the *Odyssey* (20: 105 f.) which offers a parallel to the Gideon story: Odysseus, in the depth of his despair, before the clash with the suitors, asks Zeus to make somebody "utter a lucky word" for him or to grant him some other portent to invigorate his sinking hopes. He presently overhears a monologue of a slave-girl, tired of grinding the meal for the feasting suitors, which ends with the words: "May this be their last dinner!" At that moment, a thunder from Zeus underlines the ominous implications of these words. Here again are merged two modes of divine communication, a *kledon*—as the Greeks termed such a chance utterance—provoked by the deity, and the portent which the thunder-clap after a prayer to Zeus conveyed.

The parallel is rather close: Gideon is sent to the camp of the enemy by a direct order of the Lord who appeared to him in a (nocturnal) vision, and there he receives the *kledon* which promises victory. Odysseus is granted a *kledon* in answer to his prayer, and Zeus adds his confirming thunder to point it out to him. In both cases, the deity chooses a rather indirect and complicated way of adding authenticity to the message.

It should be noted that the mantic use of chance utterances made by unconcerned persons was known in the ancient Near East not only in Palestine but also in Mesopotamia (called *egirrû*), as this author has shown in *AfO* **17**:49 ff. (*Cf.* also below p. 229.)

The only exception to the statement made above (p. 207), that "symbolic" dreams in Mesopotamia are always recorded in a mythological setting, is probably one of appearance only. This is the dream contained in the famous Cylinder A of Gudea (published in *TCL VIII*), the e n s i of the Sumerian city of Lagash, whose *floruit* falls about the very beginning of the second millennium B.C. (§8, no. 1).

This dream constitutes an integral part of a unique document—written originally on three clay-cylinders —which describes with epical breadth and hymnical verve the building of a sanctuary from its first conception, coinciding with the creation of the world, to its solemn inauguration and dedication. The style of Cylinder A and that of Cylinder B, which continues the poetic text (Cylinder C is not extant), in its literary ambitions and artistic achievements, ranks among the most sophisticated products of the Sumerian, and probably also even of the Akkadian poetical effort. The predominant influence of artistic aspirations upon the wording and the structure of the hymn, upon its rich imagery and its temper, accounts well for the appearance of a rather circumstantially described and elaborately interpreted "symbolic" dream. This dream forms a proem to the long-winded and very informative account of the construction and the decoration of the sanctuary, which is the main topic of the first cylinder.

Gudea, ruler of Lagash, desired to build a fitting temple for his god, Nin-Girsu, and, as was customary throughout the entire span of existence of the Mesopotamian civilization, the latter sent a dream. While instructions in such pious dreams are normally given by the deity in clear words, Gudea was informed by means of an enigmatic dream. We know too little of the complexities of the Sumerian religion of that specific setting (in space and in time) to offer any explanation for the fact that Gudea was not granted a "message" dream.

After having experienced the dream, Gudea was, either actually or because such was the behavior pattern, unable to understand the "meaning" of a dream in which he saw his god, was ordered to build a temple, and was even shown its "nature" (m e in Sumerian, Cyl. A I: 20–21) whatever this difficult term might imply in such a context. The puzzled ruler approached the goddess Gatumdug to inquire for the meaning of his nocturnal experience. He did not, however, ask her to "interpret" his dream.

It is also important to remark that he approached her with the permission of the very god who sent the dream (Cyl. A II: 14–19), which expresses again what we have already established as the basic nature of the "symbolic" dream: content as well as interpretation originate from the same source, be the latter offered by a servant of the Lord or—in Mesopotamia—by a priestess of some kind.

The goddess, Gatumdug, is qualified for her task of interpreting dreams by being a female e n s i (*cf.* Cyl. A II: 17 and IV: 2) who even serves the gods in this capacity. As elsewhere in the ancient Near East, Sumerian gods may experience dreams (*cf.* below p. 212 f.), and consequently are in need of interpreters, e n s i -priests of divine nature; for mortals, human e n s i -priests perform the same function. Parenthetically it should be noted that the words e n s i (written: PA.TE- s i) as title of Gudea, and e n s i

(written: EN.ME.LI) designating a priest concerned with the interpretation of dreams, are accidentally homonymous. For the priests and priestesses called e n s i , *cf.* in detail p. 221.

After long-winded prayers and cultic preparations, Gudea reports his dream to Gatumdug whom he respectfully addresses as "mother." A gigantic, human-shaped figure, he tells her, reaching from earth to heaven (Cyl. A IV: 15) has appeared to him. The figure had a headgear characterizing it as a deity, but was winged like the divine "Cloud-bird," a dream-feature which places the apparition definitely beyond the pale of the Sumerian iconography of the divine. It was flanked, heraldically, by two lions. The command of this being to build a temple is not "understood" by Gudea in its "meaning."

It seems that this lack of understanding causes the deity to resort to further apparitions to make it clear when and how the sanctuary is to be erected. The sun rises, in the dream, from the horizon and two more divine persons make their appearance: a female who, with a stylus in her hand, ponders over a tablet containing the "favorable stars" (Cyl. A IV: 25–26), and a warlike man who draws upon a lapis lazuli tablet the outlines of a temple. After the appearance of these silent figures in meaningful attire and attitudes, a basket to carry earth is pointedly placed before the prospective builder, and also a brick-mould already containing the "first" brick of the temple, in Mesopotamian building practices corresponding in function and connotation to our corner stone. Then follows —in Gudea's report of his dream—an obscure phrase which seems to refer to a person doing some kind of work day and night with an object or tool placed before him, Gudea (V: 8–9). The dream terminates with the mention of a donkey stallion standing with impatiently shuffling hoofs before the giant figure, to which Gudea, somewhat proleptically, refers with the words "my king."

The piously assumed naiveté of Gudea, who pretends that he fails to identify the deities or to understand the meaning of the sequence of apparitions, activities, and gestures, is rewarded by the goddess, who, in the very sequence in which they occurred in the dream, interprets (term. techn.: b ú r , but *cf.* p. 218) to him all the features. She identifies the figures as deities: the giant apparition is her brother, the god Nin-Girsu, for whom the temple is to be built; the female is her sister, Nisaba, goddess of wisdom and learning, determining the correct and propitious date for the work to start; the warrior is identified as the god Nin-dub, probably the heavenly architect. Then the rather obvious purpose of the tools needed for making bricks and so ostensively placed before Gudea is long-windedly expounded. It is noteworthy that all this is clearly allegorical; the few symbols of the dream are: first, the rising sun which is identified by the divine lady-oneirocritic with the personal god of Gudea, Ningishzida; secondly, the impatient donkey who represents Gudea himself in his zeal to build the sanctuary. The person who by performing some kind of work which, most likely by its very nature, "symbolizes" the continuity of the impending building activities should rather be termed a visible "simile."

The desire of Gudea to be given a "sign" (Sum.: i z k i m) in confirmation of his "symbolic" dream and its interpretation is fulfilled by means of another dream-incident. After a prayer in which he again stresses his lack of knowledge, Gudea is promised such a "sign" in a typical "message" dream. Nin-Girsu appears, standing in the conventional position, that is, at the head of the dreamer (IX: 6 contains unfortunately an obscure phrase at this point) and addresses him in a lengthy speech, promising a sign (IX: 7–XII: 11) which will determine unequivocally the very day on which the work should start. The termination of the dream is again conventionally described: "Gudea rose from his sleep, he woke with a start—it was (but) a dream" (XII: 12–13). For a third dream-incident in this text, *cf.* p. 224.

A deep-seated distrust of dreams and their messages speaks out of the perpetual desire for confirmation. The objectivity of a "sign" activated by the god himself is clearly preferred to the subjectivity of the dream-experience. A prodigy which is to confirm the divine revelation is expressly promised the dreamer in the *Aeneid* and the reason for this action of the god is stated in clear terms: *ne vana putes haec fingere somnum* (8: 42).

Sumerian literature knows of another dream-story; the god Tammuz had a "symbolic" dream which portended his impending death (§8, no. 2). In terms of literary criticism, these two Sumerian dream-reports happen to represent the two possibilities of making literary use of such incidents. The dream of Gudea is part of the story which purports to describe all the events connected with the building of the temple from the pious wish of its builder to the ultimate goal, the dedication of the sanctuary; the dream-incident constitutes an essential part of this account. In the story of Tammuz, the dream has clearly been utilized to render the mood of impending and inevitable death. It foreshadows the coming crisis but is not part of the concatenation of episodes which form the story. This dream does not cause the events to take a definite turn. The first mentioned utilization of dream-reports for literary purposes is, as a matter of fact, rather rare in Mesopotamian epical literature. The dream-warning given to the Mesopotamian Noah (*cf.* p. 207) is the only extant illustration of this function.

The dream of the Sumerian god Tammuz (§8, no. 2) is in many respects somewhat atypical; in others, however, it elucidates certain key terms better than any later dream-story of the ancient Near East.

Although it is a somewhat startling fact that a deity is reported as dreaming, i.e., receiving information of

impending events originating in some higher realm, the dreaming gods of Ugaritic mythology (*cf.* simply C. H. Gordon, *op. cit.*, 46 no. 49 IV: 4, 10, and 68 line 36, etc.) offer an interesting parallel (see also above, p. 211). Apart from this we have to notice the difference in the literary form of the presentation of the dream of Tammuz. The "frame" (*cf.* above p. 187 for this term) is not used in the customary way, i.e., before and after the actual dream-report, but placed before it as an introit. These introductory verses relate that the god lay down to sleep, that he had a dream and—what belongs normally to the second section of the "frame"—that he felt the bafflement caused by the vividness of the experience (the text uses here exactly the same word as the dream-description of Gudea; *cf.* §8, no. 1 and above p. 191) and the sudden transfer from the world of the dream into the din and glare of reality. In the typical immediate reaction to a dream-experience, Tammuz calls for his sister in long-winded repetitions with sophisticatedly calculated variations in order to "report" the dream to her, or, to translate more freely (*cf.* for the discussion of the underlying problem pp. 217 ff.), to "remove" (Sumerian: b ú r) the dream, i.e., its evil consequences. This his sister cannot do; the dream is a death-dream which cannot be removed (b ú r); fate has to take its course. Without this axiom being stated in any general or specific way, the inevitability of fate—or death—constitutes a primary motif in the story of Tammuz as it unfolds in the sections following the dream-incident. The hero makes desperate attempts to escape his fate, pleads for and receives the direct assistance of the Sun-god—only to reach in his flight before death the very place where his dream predicted he would be killed by robbers; thus the prophecy comes true in all its details.

The atypical arrangement of the "frame" recurs also in the description of the dream of Gilgamesh (§8, no. 3) and in other dream-reports dealing with "symbolic" dream-contents. Since the second dream of Gudea (Cyl. A IX: 5–XII: 13), which is a typical "message" dream, shows the "frame" in its characteristic arrangement (*cf.* above p. 187), we have to concede that the nature of the dream may influence—at least in Mesopotamia—the arrangement of the "frame."

The dream of Tammuz itself combines "symbolic" with non-"symbolic" elements, the latter belonging to the kind which we termed, on p. 196, clairvoyance on the dream-level, inasmuch as the dreamer sees events and situations that are to recur in waking life. The "symbolic" part of the dream is very simple; the "symbols" are taken from the natural habitat of the Sumerian shepherd: grasses, reeds, and rushes "symbolize" persons. The growing rushes "are" the bandits who are to attack the god and his camp; a single reed "is" his mother; two other reeds "are" he and his sister. The "symbolic" actions are equally devoid of any dream-like and irrational nature: the mother-reed "shakes its head," predicting the sorrow of Tammuz' mother over his death; one of the two other reeds is "removed," symbolizing thus the death of the shepherd god. The collapsing tall tree seems to symbolize in some obscure way the impending catastrophe, or perhaps such an incident was considered a generally evil-portending omen. And this may also be true of the still obscure verses mentioning birds and their actions and the disappearance of the "walking-stick" of Tammuz. The balance of the dream, however, seems to describe the camp of Tammuz as it was to look after the robbers had killed the shepherd, plundered and destroyed his belongings, stolen or killed his animals, etc. The description of the events dealing with the death of Tammuz corroborate this explanation by using the very words of the dream to describe the situation.

The interpretation of the dream given by Geštin-anna, the sister of Tammuz, takes up each item of the dream-report and provides it with an explanation, yet, in the first words, the "message" content of the dream as such is clearly recognized and stated: it predicts the death of the god.

The use of "death-dreams" in epical texts reflects, of course, the essential underlying fact that the fate of the protagonists as well as the course of the action are well known to the listener. Whenever catastrophes are foreshadowed by portentous dreams or fatal prophecies, the author, editor or compiler can easily impress his public with the courage of the doomed hero, the motif of the inevitability of fate, etc., and with his artistry in the elaboration of the presentation. Under these circumstances, the classical sources, not only the epical and dramatic but also the biographical literature, make ample use of the death-dream motif. Such dreams are either "symbolic" or predict death in unequivocal terms.

In Mesopotamia, the dream of Tammuz represents the "symbolic" type, while that of Enkidu in the Epic of Gilgamesh (§8, no. 7) is more difficult to classify. Into the psychological pattern of a nightmare the poet has cast here a dream describing the descent to the netherworld which every human being is to experience after death. The climactic anguish of the nightmare—the waking up with a scream—has been made to coincide, with superb literary craftsmanship, with the moment at which the dreamer's soul encounters the ruler of the dead, is attacked and arrested by his minions.

Enkidu, the beloved friend of Gilgamesh, is very ill and has a dream which he, of course, immediately reports to the hero of the epic. Although the reaction—and interpretation—of the latter are lost in a break in the tablet, the dream-content does not seem to be in need of an elaborate interpretation; neither is it a "symbolic" dream, nor does it seem to contain a message, but the latter cannot be proved because of

the break. Typologically it might best be characterized again as a case of clairvoyance on the level of the dream, a clairvoyance which concerns the future as against the other clairvoyance-dream of Enkidu (*cf.* p. 196) which dealt with happenings occurring at the same time although outside his normal ken.

As to the content of this "death-dream," it reflects admirably the ideas of Mesopotamian man concerning the moment of death, from the encounter with the announcer of death to the subsequent transformation into a "shade" or the like, the descent into the realm of death and the eventual meeting with its ruler.

To all this, with its immediate appeal to the ever-present fear of death in the heart of each listener, the poet has added an elaborate description of the netherworld and its inhabitants. He thus takes up an old Sumerian literary tradition which is first attested by the story of King Ur-Nammu of the third dynasty of Ur who, from his funeral, while lying in state, visited the realm of death (*cf.* for the Sumerian sources, Kramer in *BASOR* **94**: 6 n. 11). This strange adventure is clearly a distant forerunner of the vision of Er told by Plato in his *Republic* (10: 614 ff.) The appeal of such fabulous journeys—be the heavens their goal, as in the Akkadian myth of Etana, or the netherworld—secures them a permanent position in the pan-human treasury of cosmological stories. They are told on all conceivable levels of "reality": that of the myth, of vision, of dream and waking life. The description of the netherworld lends itself much more readily than that of the heavens to moralizing, if not homiletic, digressions, of which traces can be found in the dream of Enkidu (*cf.* my article in *Orientalia* NS **17**: 44 f.) and which are quite prominent in the late Egyptian story of Khamuas (second story, *cf.* Griffith, *op. cit.*, 45 f., 149 ff.). Here we have, even if we shall never be able to trace and establish all the missing links, the Near Eastern forerunners of that classical, Hebrew, and Muslim tradition from which, through channels unknown, the medieval sources were supplied that marvelously blossomed forth in the *Divina Commedia*.

The poet of Enkidu's "death-dream," preserved only in the Neo-Assyrian version of the epic, makes a most sophisticated use of such a description of the netherworld by building it up to a climax to which the psychological type of dream that served him as prototype naturally leads. When Enkidu in his dream approaches the throne of the ruler of the dead, he is discovered by the lady-scribe of that realm. She holds in her hand the tablet containing the names of all those who are destined to die that day and is, of course, surprised to see Enkidu before his time. Here, however, the text breaks off leaving us free to speculate as to whether Enkidu was immediately seized by the demons or whether he was sent back to prepare for his impending death. The first possibility seems to be supported by the fact that some sudden and dangerous developments must have taken place after the discovery of Enkidu by the goddess, because the nightmare requires such an end to the dream. In the same direction point certain details of a dream-story which is translated under the somewhat misleading title "Die Unterweltsvision eines assyrischen Kronprinzen" (republished and retranslated after *Ebeling Tod und Leben* **1**: 1 ff., by von Soden in *ZA* **43**: 1 ff.). This Neo-Assyrian literary concoction, contrived for political purposes, contains likewise a description of a *decensus ad inferos*. It reports how a living person saw, in a dream, the netherworld, was discovered and seized, but eventually released and sent back to the world of the living until the dispenser of death should remember him, and how he woke up with a start from this oppressive dream in a state of excitement which the text pictures with gusto (for an English translation, *cf.* A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels*, 132 ff., Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1946). This account is clearly patterned after the "death-dream" of Enkidu which it imitates and provides with elaborations.

The poet who cast the "death-dream" into the psychological pattern of the nightmare has found, curiously enough, a great successor. The dream of the Duke of Clarence in Richard III (act I, scene IV) offers such a close parallel to that of Enkidu that it is worth quoting in this context. The Duke falls asleep immediately before his murder and then reports a dream:

> . . . my dream was lengthen'd after life;
> . . .
> I pass'd, methought, the melancholy flood
> With that grim ferryman which poets write of,
> Unto the kingdom of perpetual night.
> . . .
> With that, methought, a legion of foul fiends
> Environ'd me, and howled in my ears
> Such hideous cries that, with the very noise,
> I trembling wak'd, and for a season after
> Could not believe but that I was in hell, —

In their composition and mood, though not in their more subtle moral implications, the verses of this dream show that artistic understanding which can infuse new life and vigor into a literary device of old standing.

We might mention at this juncture and somewhat parenthetically, that the *Iliad* contains a strange dream-incident describing a nightmare, one from which the sleeper did not escape by awakening, as is normal, but which ended with his death. The passage (10: 497) has given headaches to many generations of scholars; Diomedes slew Rhesus in his sleep, during a night attack while the latter was experiencing an "evil" dream sent to him by the very goddess who instigated the attack: "as he lay heavily breathing—since a bad dream stood by his head in the night—no dream but Oinos' son (i.e. Diomedes), by device of Athena" (translation of R. Lattimore). Obviously

Athena sent a nightmarish, and probably death-announcing, dream to render the sleeping Rhesus unable to defend himself against her protégé, Diomedes.

There are two more dream-incidents in the Epic of Gilgamesh, in fact, two groups of dream-reports: the two parallel dreams of Gilgamesh before he met his friend, Enkidu, and the three parallel dreams of the hero connected with the rather obscure events concerning the slaying of the monstrous Humbaba on the Cedar Mountain.

The first group demonstrates a non-structural use of the dream-device. The dreams are introduced solely for the purpose of preparing the listener for the arrival of Enkidu, exactly as the "death-dream" of the latter is but preparatory for the solemn and moving parting scene between the two friends. Their meeting and their separation are decisive events, turning-points, of the epic and receive for this reason an elaborate "build-up" by means of dream-incidents.

The three dreams of the second group (Humbaba-story) are difficult to analyze because of the fragmentary state of the fifth tablet of the epic. If the explanation and the restorations suggested on p. 216 f. should prove correct, these dreams belong to the structural type. They establish the guilt of Enkidu, whose punishment by death is an event which, in turn, is crucial in the development and eventual climax of the Gilgamesh-story within the epic.

In the two parallel dreams (§8, nos. 3, 4) which presage the arrival of Enkidu in Uruk and also the general trend of the subsequent events as far as the two friends are involved, purely "symbolic" happenings take place, and the dreams, therefore, require interpretation. They are experienced in the same night and both report strange objects falling from the night sky among the inhabitants of Uruk who gather around them in admiration and worship. Gilgamesh himself reacts somewhat differently in these two dreams. He measures his strength against that of the first of these two objects but is unable to overpower it, while he receives the second with joy—embracing it "like a wife." The first object, termed *kiṣir ša Anim*, "Force of the Sky-god," and still unidentified, Gilgamesh carries to his mother; the second, a strange looking axe, he places at his side as a weapon.

This dream has several rather strange features which seem to hark back more than is customary in the dream-reports of our civilizations to actual dream-experiences. There is first the extremely rare encroachment of events in the story on the dream-content: Gilgamesh knew of the impending arrival of a strange being, Enkidu, and had contrived a ruse to lure this semi-human "mythological" creature into his town. But his apprehensions are revealed in the dreams in which the motif of the arrival of a stranger recurs with marked intensity. Equally extraordinary are the allusions to Gilgamesh's reaction to the axe which in his dream fell into the city's street and which he loved and embraced. Here, we patently fail to grasp all the implications (for a pertinent attempt *cf.* Th. Jacobsen, "How did Gilgameš oppress Uruk?" in *Acta Orientalia* 8: 62–74) but it can hardly be denied that an erotic interest is permitted to affect the friendship of the two heroes of the epic.

The mother of Gilgamesh to whom he turns for the interpretation of these dreams, reporting each dream separately and receiving its interpretation in the same manner, explains to her son that a stranger is to arrive in Uruk. The inhabitants will receive the stranger with jubilation and so will Gilgamesh, who will lead him to his mother. In the interpretation of the second of the parallel dreams, unfortunately lost in a break, the very last sentence predicts that the stranger, Enkidu, will be adopted by the mother of Gilgamesh and the friends will become brothers. It should be noted that the interpretation—as far as it is preserved—deviates from the customary style inasmuch as it does not identify consistently the several "symbols" or their actions with definite persons and events. While the main development of the story is correctly foretold by the interpretress of dreams, she does not expressly refer to the fight between Gilgamesh and Enkidu. This encounter in which the two measure their strength and which the poet describes in detail, showing how their friendship grew out of the indecisive contest, remains without mention in the interpretation. This is the more astonishing as Gilgamesh attempted unsuccessfully, in his first dream, to move the unidentified object fallen from the starred sky. This feature of the dream can hardly be taken otherwise than to "symbolize" his impending wrestling match with the newcomer.

The second group of dreams in the epic (§8, no. 5) consists of three, most likely parallel, incidents which are incorporated in the account describing the apprehensions of the friends, Gilgamesh and Enkidu, as they ascend the uncanny Cedar Mountain to fight its guardian, Humbaba. As already indicated, the text is very fragmentary; the report of the first dream is completely lost; that of the second is preserved on a tablet which belonged to the library of King Assurbanipal and also on a fragment excavated in the capital of the Hittite empire (*KUB IV* 12 and *ibid.*, 48), hence nearly one millennium older; and the report of the third appears on the same Nineveh-fragment as the second. Not one of these three dream-reports is completely preserved, but the patent analogies of their structure and the nature of the context allow us to reconstruct their content with some degree of certainty.

The main and so far unique feature of these dream-incidents is that they all refer to provoked dreams; Gilgamesh apparently attempts three times to ascertain whether divine sanction has been granted to the enterprise in which he and his friend, Enkidu, are engaged. At nightfall he performs for this purpose a

ritual that consists first of digging a "well" towards the West (text: "before Shamash"). A break in the tablet hides the following line which might have explained the nature of this hole. The text then continues: "Gilgamesh ascended (most likely out of the well), scattered his incense offerings [ ]." This shows that Gilgamesh was expecting a visitor from the realm of the gods and demons. We know from rituals (*cf.* the letter *Harper ABL* 450, discussed on p. 233) and an allusion in a religious text (*Ludlul-bêl-nêmeqi*, *cf.* p. 217) that incense was offered to dream-demons when their visit was expected or provoked. Thirdly, Gilgamesh invokes the mountain which they are ascending asking for a dream-revelation: "Mountain! bring (me) a dream [concerning Enkidu]! Make [clear?] for him [ ]!" Unfortunately here, as often in this fragment, broken passages hamper our understanding and create problems upon problems.

The "Mountain" complies promptly and sends (term. techn.: *abālu*, *cf.* p. 226) a dream to Gilgamesh. The poet even takes care to describe the mechanics of the requested dream. The text is again damaged but it seems that a (cool) breeze brings the dream, perhaps even out of the well dug by Gilgamesh: "a cool wind [pas]sed by, [a zephyr(?)] blew; it put him (Gilgamesh) to sleep and [ ]." This dream—or its medium, the sleep—befalls Gilgamesh like that blowing gust of wind to which sleep is likened in the *Iliad* (22: 232; *cf.* pp. 233 f. for the relationship of dream and wind). The implications of this line seem to be that it was an abnormal kind of sleep, perhaps a magic sleep in which the dream-message requested by the sleeper is to be conveyed to him.

After an obscure line with a simile using "mountain barley" as a *tertium comparationis*, it is said that Gilgamesh fell asleep in the rather unnatural position of a person squatting on the ground, his chin touching his knees. This could mean that the sleep came upon him so suddenly and with such magic power and speed that he was caught in the described position before being able to lie down to sleep. But it could also mean that this position was required for the provocation of mantic dreams, and one might even venture to explain the position as imitating that of the so-called "contracted" (or "embryonal") burial position. All this is only guesswork.

At midnight, Gilgamesh woke up with that start which is characteristic of the awakening out of a dream (*cf.* p. 191). The poet again takes the trouble to dedicate some verses to an elaborate description of this awakening exactly as he previously did with regard to the "coming" of the dream: "My friend, you have not called my (name) and (still) I am wide awake; you have not touched me and (still) I am affrighted; a god has not passed by (here) and (still) I am paralyzed!" He then reports his third dream.

As to the contents of the three dreams, the first is lost in a break and the other two center around the dreaded mountain. In the second dream the mountain collapses and catches Gilgamesh by pinioning his feet. At that moment of anguish, an unidentified man (**1-*en*** LÚ *iṭlu*, exactly as in the dream-reports nos. 11 and 13) of exceeding beauty (*cf.* above p. 189 for this significant detail) saves Gilgamesh, pulling him out from under the mountain and setting him back on his feet. All this is contained in the fragment found in Asia Minor (*cf.* above p. 215); in the Nineveh text nothing but the broken phrase, "we were like reed-flies," is preserved. The third and last dream is still more dramatic: in a climactic upheaval, the mountain (the word is actually broken) burns to ashes, day turns into night, with lightning and death-bringing rain accentuating the catastrophe. The contents of the second and third dream demonstrate clearly an intensification. This suggests that the three dreams were intended to convey progressively more drastic warnings to Gilgamesh and Enkidu. The first dream —this is necessarily pure conjecture, since the tablet is lost—could have contained a distinct admonition to leave the mountain-region, such as an earthquake or the like; the second dream let the mountain collapse but still granted Gilgamesh a miraculous escape; while the third produced the final catastrophe.

The events of the second dream are interpreted in a favorable sense by Enkidu on the basis of a reasoning which the broken state of the tablet makes impossible to follow. As to the third dream, Gilgamesh does not even wait for an interpretation: he remarks himself "and the dream I had (now) is in all (respects) confused (*šâšat*)." Enkidu, however, apparently bent on achieving the goal of the adventurous journey that is to bring him sickness and eventual death, seems to try to persuade Gilgamesh to reconsider his own interpretation and to persist in their enterprise. This, at least, seems to be the meaning of the idiomatic phrase: "Enkidu [listened (to the account of the dream)] and *šu-ut-ta-šú ú-šam-ḫír-šú*, i.e., he made him (Gilgamesh) accept his dream," taking *šutta maḫāru* in the sense of Latin *omen accipere*.

This much is clear: Gilgamesh did not heed the warning given him in these dreams. However, the arguments of Enkidu which persuaded him not to heed them are lost in a break. The ensuing course of events during which Gilgamesh, with the help of Shamash, killed Humbaba, the guardian of the mountain, speak in favor of the interpretation just offered which hinges upon the understanding of the quoted Akkadian idiom. Because the warnings of the mountain-deity were disregarded by Gilgamesh upon the instigation of Enkidu, the latter is punished then and there by a mysterious disease which leads to his death; his interpretations of the dreams of Gilgamesh constitute the guilt which brings about his punishment. If our explanation should prove correct, the entire episode occurring on Cedar Mountain would be elucidated and also furnish a rare example of a very

sophisticated use made of dream-reports structurally incorporated into a story.

Another series of three dreams occurs in the last Akkadian literary document to be discussed here (§8, no. 14). This is an opus quite *sui generis* which was, at times, glibly misnomered the "Babylonian Job" and is often ranged among the text category "Wisdom Literature" but can perhaps best be characterized as an original creation of Mesopotamian religious lyrical poetry somehow akin in mood, scope, and setting to certain psalms. Of the four original tablets of this work, entitled *Ludlul bêl nêmeqi*, "Let me praise the Lord of Wisdom," little more than half of the lines are preserved, so that not all the details of the very elaborate composition are clear.

A princely sufferer describes first his afflictions, which, caused by divine wrath and alienation, have broken him in body and spirit and brought him near death. At the very climax of his "Passion" three successive dreams presage his impending return to grace and health. The balance of the poem then praises in hymnical style the saviour, Marduk, describing the gratefulness of the sufferer. The document offers a mine of information concerning religious concepts and practices in its elaborate descriptions of the physiological and psychological details of the symptoms of the sufferer. It furthermore sheds light upon the conflict between piety and the doubts of despair and reveals in this connection more about the intellectual and spiritual aspects of Mesopotamian religiosity than any other religious text with the exception of the so-called "Theodicy" (Landsberger *ZA* **43**: 32 ff.)

The first dream of the sufferer occurs under special circumstances, to which the text refers with the obscure phrase *ina šuttu munattu*. It is possible that it is meant to indicate that the dream was experienced in the early hours of the morning (*cf.* p. 240 for this problem). An unknown young man (*ištanu iṭlu*, *cf.* also §8, nos. 11, 13) of glorious and gigantic appearance presents himself as messenger of a deity whose name is lost in a break, promising probably the approaching salvation. The second dream-report, somewhat better preserved, follows the same pattern: the apparition of a man declares himself sent by a legendary king of Nippur in order to heal the dreamer. In his hands he holds the ritual tools for purification ceremonies, and he pours the "Water of Life(?)" over the sufferer. In the very same night, in the third dream, a beautiful maiden appears with words of consolation, predicting immediate release.

These dreams are difficult to classify typologically; taken as individual incidents, each of them has to be termed a "message" dream; their occurrence in a group of three, however, is characteristic of "symbolic" dreams. They seem to be the product of a somewhat learned imagination guided by literary aspirations, and show the influence of individual artistic creativeness. As such they are deficient in that immediate appeal of veracity which characterizes some of the dream-reports even in documents where the stylistic requirements and restrictions are far more rigid but in which the actual experience has not been subjected to the formative influence of individual (and therefore accidental) aspirations.

Although the dreams of the poem do not require interpretation, still the author seems to have felt the necessity of additional divine confirmation. Hence he added another dream-incident. This last dream is experienced by an anonymous person, and follows the pattern established by all the preceding dreams: an unidentified crowned and bearded person appears and is characterized as a "conjuror" (*mašmāšu*) declaring: "Marduk has sent me!" The purpose of his mission is patently to bring about the salvation of the sufferer.

The actual process of healing and recuperation begins the following morning and is described in considerable detail. No reference, however, is made to the several dream-apparitions, which thus remain unconnected with the story. They are apparently not used functionally but only for stylistic reasons. It can, therefore, be said that from the point of view of the present study, the document *Ludlul bêl nêmeqi* does not add essential information; its dream-reports contain certain important and rare technical terms which elucidate the phraseology of the conventional reports, but the dream-contents as such are uninteresting and stereotyped; their structural integration into the story is technically primitive.

5. INTERPRETATION AND INTERPRETERS

At this point, immediately following the section dealing with "symbolic" dreams, we have to investigate the problem of their interpretation. The full understanding of the Mesopotamian concept of dream-interpretation hinges upon the correct translation of the pertinent terminology, that is, in fact, of one verb, in Akkadian, *pašāru*; in Sumerian, b ú r .

Loath as we are to resort to philological digressions, the reader will have to bear with us for a few pages for the sake of understanding the very characteristic semantic background of the Akkadian verb *pašāru* which is difficult if not impossible to render with one word in any modern language. However, understanding of its semantic range and its specific implications is indispensable if one wishes to establish what the Mesopotamians meant when they spoke of interpreting dreams.

The evidence for *pašāru* used in connection with *šuttu* "dream" is rather complex and offers many problems not all of which we are yet able to solve. The main difficulty—for our way of thinking—is the realization that the verb occurs in two clearly differentiated contexts. In one case, the subject of the

phrase *šutta pašāru* is the dreaming person, in the other, the person who is interpreting the dream.

A person who has just experienced a dream of the "symbolic" type of which the meaning remains enigmatic reacts—according to all dream-reports of antiquity—by immediately communicating the content of his dream to a friend or relative, to anybody at hand. For this characteristic response to such an experience Sumerian literary texts use the verb b ú r, and Akkadian epical texts the corresponding *pašāru*, in both cases with "dream" as the direct object.

The former is attested in the story of the dream of the god Tammuz (§8, no. 2); the god addresses his sister, asking her to tell him the "meaning" (Sumerian: the heart) of his dream. He terminates his speech with the words: "Let me b ú r you my dream!" (m a . m ú g a . m u . u n . n a . b ú r). The Akkadian *pašāru* occurs in exactly the same context. We read in the dream-reports of the Epic of Gilgamesh (Old Babyl. version, Clay, *PBS X/3* I: 1, II: 2; Neo-Assyrian version, *Thompson Epic*, Tabl. I V: 25, Tabl. VI I: 192) that Gilgamesh arose from his sleep to *pašāru* his dream to his mother and that Enkidu did the same to his friend after such an experience. The most revealing evidence, however, for this nuance of *pašāru* comes from several passages of the rituals which are part of our Dream-Book. *Cf.* p. 302 for a discussion of the phrases in which *pašāru* refers to the magic act of "transferring" the evil power of a bad dream to a certain object (to be destroyed later) by means of reporting (*pašāru*) the dream-content to it.

While *pašāru* denotes in all the mentioned occurrences an activity of the dreamer, we have passages in which dreams are said to be *pašāru* or b ú r by other persons. This has primarily nothing to do with what we call "interpretation." The sister of the god Tammuz (§8, no. 2) reacts to the dream told to her by the latter with the words: "My brother, your dream is not favorable, it cannot be b ú r." Since this phrase introduces the actual interpretation of the dream, the statement "it cannot be b ú r" must necessarily mean, "it cannot be removed." The goddess wanted to indicate to her brother that the events predicted in his "symbolic" dream would actually occur and that they could not be obviated by means of that therapeutic magic which we call today analysis and which in the ancient Near East was referred to by *pašāru* (*cf.* presently for further evidence.)

However, beside this primary meaning of b ú r—*pašāru* ("to remove, etc.") we have also a secondary meaning which is best attested in the Epic of Gilgamesh (*Thompson Epic*, pl. VII VI: 6). After the mother of Gilgamesh has provided him with what we term today an interpretation of his dream, she concludes her speech with the statement: "[and thus, or: and now] your dream is '[so]lved' ([*pa-aš*]-*rat šu-na-at-ka*)!" The verb *pašāru* has in this context two aspects: one which refers to the "translation" of the "symbols" of the dream into an unequivocally worded message or announcement, and one which alludes to the fact that the evil implications of the mystery contained in such a "symbolic" dream have been dissolved. The very same semantic implications characterize the use of the Sumerian b ú r. In the dream-report of Gudea (§8, no. 1), the divine e n s i-priestess to whom Gudea has told his dream answers him: "I shall b ú r you your dream (Cyl. A V: 12)," and then she begins actually to interpret his dream, i.e., to "translate" it and thus to dispel the forebodings of Gudea caused by experiencing a "symbolic" dream.

This difficult double meaning of the Akkadian *pašāru* and the Sumerian b ú r causes all our translation troubles, because modern languages do not have a congruent concept for the therapeuto-magic process designated by this technical term.

Although both verbs, Sumerian b ú r and Akkadian *pašāru*, mean, at times, "to unfold (a tale), to explicate" (*cf.* for the former, Kramer *BASOR* **94** p. 8, lines 80 f., for the latter *KBo I* 5 *pass.*, *AfO* **14** pl. IX I: 14, Nougayrol, *RB* **59**: 239 f. line 11, etc.), they cannot possibly have this nuance in the following group of references for the Akkadian idiom *šutta pašāru*:

When Anum, the Sky-god, is termed, in certain hymns and similar texts (*cf.* e.g. *Mullo Weir Lexicon* 263), *pāšir* (also, and better, *mupaššir*) *šunāte* one can hardly understand this epitheton to mean "he who unfolds or reports dreams," nor can one—as is usually done for etymological reasons (*cf.* below p. 220)—translate it "he who interprets dreams." Neither of these activities is within the function and the domain of Anum. The only possible and defensible translation is, "he who dispels/removes (the consequences of evil) dreams," because this clearly parallels a similar *epitheton* of another deity: *pāšir kišpi* "he who dispels/removes (evil) magic" (said of Marduk, *BA* **5**: 391: 7). Such a translation is in perfect harmony with the semantic range of the root *p.š.r* the very diversified nuances of which can, with relative ease, be comprehended by "to release, remove, dispose of, relax, loosen, etc."

The objects of these activities vary greatly: sins, curses, sorcery, evil dreams, etc., can be *pašāru* by the gods, or with their help, through magic practices; wrath, anxiety, strain can be released; merchandise of every description can be disposed of, sold at a loss; the strands of a rope untwisted, etc.—*pašāru* being used in all these instances. Revealing are, furthermore, such *epitheta* of the gods as that of the god, Siriš, the deity concerned with brewing, here simply beer deified, called *pāšir ili u amēli* "who sets at ease/relaxes gods and men," or that of Shamash, the Sun-god, *pāšir šamê u irṣitim* (*King BMS* 59: 4; *OECT VI*, *K.* 3231: 4, *RA* **26**, 40: 3) in the following context: "he who guides all mankind along the correct road, who makes the universe (literally: heaven and

earth) work smoothly and allots (to each person) his fate." Full confirmation of our translation of *mupaššir šunāte* (*cf.* above) comes from the following *epitheton* of Anum, who is praised as *mupaššir namburbê idāti ittāti limnēti šunāte pardāte la ṭâbāte* "he who makes the exorcistic rituals potent to effect the *pašāru* against ominous happenings and (the consequences) of confused and ungodly dreams" (*cf.* IV *R* 17: rev. 15, *King BMS* 62 + l. 12, shortened by omission of the word *namburbû* in *K.* 2784, *OECT VI* pl. 22). *Cf.* likewise the conjuration addressed to the God of Dreams which form the beginning of the first tablet of our Dream-Book (*cf.* below p. 297 for a translation). There *Ziqīqu*, the God of Dreams, is asked to *puššuru* the "confused" dreams (lines 4–5), which does not mean that he should interpret, but rather dispel them.

All this forces us to assume that the Sumerian b ú r (as well as the Akkadian *pašāru*) can be used to render (*a*) the reporting of one's dream to another person, (*b*) the interpreting of an enigmatic dream by that person, and (*c*) the dispelling or removing of the evil consequences of such a dream by magic means. This state of affairs shows, patently, that all these activities are functionally identical, their common purpose being cathartic. The use mentioned under (*a*) fits this explanation (*cf.* below), those under (*b*) and (*c*) represent two aspects of the same idea; an interpreted dream contains a message but is in itself no source of danger any more, although the content of the message (the announcement of death in the dream of Tammuz) cannot be changed by any interpretation. The message of the dream has thus to be separated from the vehicle which carries it. This vehicle in itself—that is, the dream as a means of communication between the deity and man—is fraught with awe and danger and thus has to be removed immediately whatever the content of the message be.

The message of such a dream does not, once it is understood, pollute the dreaming person, whatever its content may be; only as long as it remains enigmatic is it dangerous. The interpreting is, therefore, a necessity, not performed primarily for the sake of establishing the content of the dream, but intended to rid (*pašāru*) the "patient" of the impact of the enigma. Dreams were then, as today, interpreted for therapeutic reasons.

Nothing illustrates this better than the ritual contained in our Dream-Book (*cf.* below p. 301 for translation) which has the purpose of removing the consequences of an evil dream by transferring it to a lump of clay which is then thrown into water there to dissolve and disappear. The transfer is made by means of "reporting" the dream to the lump of clay: "the entire dream which he has seen, he shall tell (*pašāru*) to the lump." When the carrier of the miasma is then dissolved—under appropriate prayers —the evil of the dream will bypass the dreamer. Again, the telling of the dream-content removes the influence it has upon the person who experienced it.

This magic practice is well known outside of Mesopotamia and is expressly mentioned as such in the Hieratic dream-book (*cf.* below p. 244). In Greek sources, e.g., such dreams are "told to the ether" (Euripides, *Iphiginia in Tauris*, 42) in order to relieve the dreaming person and to remove the evil caused by the contact with them. In other classical passages, this primitive cathartic rite is replaced by prayers, offerings, etc. (*cf.* Stearns, *op. cit.*, 17 n. 59, for references), and analogous practices are known all over the world.

The importance of the ritual cleansing of a person who has just experienced a dream is amply illustrated by the text of our Dream-Book, which dedicates at least two of its nine tablets to extensive collections of rituals all destined to restore the sleeper's state of cultic cleanliness. In fact, the provenience of the fragments on which our reconstruction of the Dream-Book is based shows that tablets inscribed with such rituals have had a much wider distribution than those which contain the omina proper derived from the content of dreams. For a discussion of this problem, *cf.* p. 295.

As to the *pašāru* of the dream performed by the person whom we are wont to call "interpreter of dreams," the term denotes, in one of its aspects, the technique of "translating" the dream, i.e., to establish those concepts for which in the enigmatic dream "symbols" have been substituted (cf. above p. 206). Once this goal is achieved—and there exist various procedures to this effect—the dream reveals its mantic message; it is—to use the modern term—"analyzed," the oppressive enigma disappears, the "patient" is satisfied.

The parallel to modern, psychoanalytic methods is too obvious to require elaboration. It should, however, be stressed that this parallel is only on the surface; the "decoding" of the symbolic dream by means of psychoanalytic methods is supposed to reveal the make-up of the personality of the dreaming person as it is conditioned by his past, while the interpretation of a "symbolic" dream in Mesopotamia reveals the message of the deity addressed to the dreaming person couched in the form of a riddle and—above all—referring always to the future.

All this is, of course, in absolute contrast with the modern approach to the dream-experience which "analyzes" the dream-content, i.e., breaks it down in the attempt to establish the motives and mechanics of the substitution- and distortion-process through which the individual psychology of the dreaming person expresses itself in the manifest dream-content. The modern expert "ana-lyses" the dream, which means, etymologically, he "dis-solves" the dream; his Mesopotamian colleague "solves" the dream.

The etymology of *pašāru* fits this interpretation

perfectly. As has been shown on p. 218 the range of the Semitic root, *p.š.r*, can be circumscribed by the English "to solve" and its derivatives: "to dissolve, to absolve."

The fact that *p.š.r* in connection with dreams is not only attested in Akkadian but also in a number of cognate Semitic languages has to be mentioned here: we have *p.t.r* in Hebrew (only in the Joseph story of Genesis), *p.š.r* in Aramaic and *p.s.r* in Arabic. The meaning is always "to interpret a dream, a difficult passage in a text" (*cf.* for this nuance the passage Daniel 5:12). A further and revealing semantic parallel is offered by the Egyptian *wḥ*^{c} meaning "to untwine a rope," "to explain a difficult passage," "to remove sins," "to heal afflictions." This semantic coverage demonstrates that our interpretation of *pašāru* is valid for the entire ancient Near East. While *wḥ*^{c} does not happen to be attested in Egyptian texts in connection with dreams, its Coptic correspondence, *woh*, occurs in exactly this usage, meaning "to interpret dreams."

The customary translation, "to interpret," for all these verbs should, in the light of the present discussion, be understood as referring exclusively to that aspect of the English word which has to do with translating. But it should be stressed that no exegetic or hermeneutic approach is involved when one speaks of the interpreting of dreams in the ancient Near East. The symbols of the dream-language are simply "translated" into the symbols of the language spoken by the dreaming person. This is the task of the dream-interpreter, and we will presently investigate through what method or technique his "translation" was achieved.

In order to obviate an objection which might be raised against our translation of *pašāru* as "to solve (a dream)," we have, parenthetically, to discuss the word *pišru* for which the Akkadian dictionaries give the meaning "interpretation."

In a group of Neo-Assyrian (not Babylonian) letters to the king concerned with astrological and (rarely) with other ominous phenomena, the word *pišru* refers in nearly all instances not to the interpretation which a described phenomenon requires, but to the omen-passage which refers to the situation in question. Such omen-passages are excerpted from omen-collections by the writers of these letters and quoted *verbatim* as, e.g., in the letters *Harper ABL* 470, 519, 565, 679, 744, 1080, 1214 and *Thompson Reports* 111, 144D, 207, 212A, 221, 235, 264, 272. In all these texts we have the quotation of a complete omen, that is, an omen consisting of a protasis (description of the ominous event or feature) and an apodosis (prognostic) followed or preceded by the phrase *kî annî piširšu* "this is the (pertinent) solution (in the sense of 'answer')." The word *pišru* cannot mean here "interpretation" or "explanation" on account of the characteristic situation underlying all these letters: the king sends an inquiry concerning the mantic implications of a specific ominous happening, and the scholar provides him with a quotation which he has excerpted from a collection of omina dealing with the pertinent subject matter. This procedure can in no way be considered an "interpretation," nor can *pišru* be translated as such. The word refers in this context, as has just been stressed, simply to the answer, given in the form of a quotation, which "solves" the query of the king. The phrasing, "this is its *pišru*," with "it" pointing to the ominous feature, situation or happening, reflects this specific situation. Our explanation is, furthermore, confirmed by the Neo-Assyrian letter *Harper ABL* 355 in which we can observe that, in an obvious and logical restriction of the semantics of *pišru*, the word is used to designate the prognostic only. On the other hand, we have the contemporaneous report of an astrologer in *Thompson Reports* 176, with an interesting illustration of the nuance, "solution (of a difficult problem)," for *pišru*. The astrologer quotes several favorable omina dealing with conjunctions of the moon and the sun which, however, do not seem to have fitted the actual astronomical situation. He then adds: "tonight, the planet Jupiter came quite near to the moon—the planet Jupiter is the star of (the) Sun(-god)—this is its solution: it is favorable for the king (since) the sun is the 'star' of the king!" The triumphant *kî annî piširšu* bespeaks the joy of the astrologer in having been able to contrive a favorable omen by substituting the "royal" star, Jupiter, for the sun and thus to please his king.

For completeness' sake rather than because the passage is revealing in any way, we would like to quote here a unique and late Sumero-Akkadian vocabulary (*CT XVIII*, 29 f. IV: 13–14) in which the Sumerian phrase m e .GAL.ZU "to know/understand the nature (of something)" is equated with these two Akkadian passages: *šu-ut-ta pa-ša-ru* "to interpret a dream" and *qi-bu ša-ka-nu* "to make a pronouncement(?)" (implications unknown).

We have dealt at some length with the difficult verb *pašāru* and shall have to revert again to this subject (*cf.* below pp. 222 and 224), but we should not turn to a new topic without reiterating that the apparent complexity of the semantic situation is mainly caused by our preconceived notions that (*a*) dreams are told by those who experience them in order to inform another person and not for cathartic reasons, and (*b*) that the interpreting of dreams is exegetic in purpose rather than therapeutic.

At this point, two interrelated questions have to be asked: who did interpret dreams in Mesopotamia, and how? The pertinent evidence is very scanty but yields some information which we will discuss here, distinguishing, however, as clearly as possible the various intellectual levels for which our conclusions will be valid.

Seen phenomenologically, "symbolic" dreams can be translated (i.e. interpreted) in at least three ways. There is first the interpretation based on an intuitive understanding of the associations which link the message to its "coded" version. Sex, age, social status, or a personal *charisma*, inherited or magically acquired, may qualify the interpreter in this case. Then there is the use of collections of dream-omina, in other words, an interpretation based on precedents which have been observed, collected systematically and augmented or supplemented by means of (pseudo-) rational deductions. In this case, the interpreter of dreams has to be a scholar trained in exegetic methods. Finally, the interpreter may turn for verification of proposed interpretations or, directly, for an unequivocally worded message to the very source of the dream, that is, to the deity. This he may do either by means of magic practices, by using some kind of oracular apparatus which provokes the deity to express his will through other media of communication, or by resorting to sought dreams, to visionary experiences, etc.

In the realm of the epical literature of Mesopotamia (and of Asia Minor), women function as interpreters of dreams. Thus we have, in the episode of the death-dream of the Sumerian god Tammuz, his sister as oneirocritic (§8, no. 2). In the Epic of Gilgamesh, his mother, whose wisdom is repeatedly described as outstanding (*mûdât kalama*), interprets the dreams of the hero (§8, no. 3, 4), and this is likewise the case in the Hittite version of a probably Hurrian myth or story dealing with the adventures of the hunter Keshshi, who had seven "symbolic" dreams which his mother interpreted for him.

An exception is offered by the three dreams of Gilgamesh (§8, no. 5) which he provoked during the ascent to the Cedar Mountain and which his friend Enkidu interpreted. The very fact that these were provoked dreams through which the hero attempted to obtain divine messages might well explain the exception. And it is somewhat amusing to observe that Enkidu's interpretations prove actually to be wrong (*cf.* above pp. 215). This constitutes—by the way—a unique case in ancient Near Eastern literatures; the wrong interpretation of a dream as the turning-point of the Enkidu story offers the rare example of an artful use of the dream-motif deftly incorporated into the complex structure of a story.

In the non-rational, poetic world of the dream-incidents described in the Cylinder A of Gudea, we meet likewise a female acting as interpretress of dreams, to wit a goddess. She is, however, given a priestly rank which bears directly on her function (the mother of Gilgamesh is also a priestess, but this is not meant to legitimate her oneirocritical activity). This goddess, Gatumdug, to whom Gudea told his "symbolic" dream, is expressly designated as the SAL. e n s i of the gods and as such—this the text forces us to assume—she is directly concerned with the interpretation of dreams.

Thus we have, for the time being, to follow the lead given us in the dream-report of Gudea and to investigate the extant evidence concerning the priest and priestess called e n s i (as learned loan-word in Akkadian: *en-su-ú* series Proto-d i r i 381). The Sumerian word itself defies etymology, but the corresponding Akkadian term is more revealing: *šā'il(t)u* means "(s)he who asks questions"—i.e., of the gods. In other words, these priests belonged to the class of diviners; their function was to answer mantic inquiries by seeking oracles from the gods. This they apparently did by putting specific questions to the gods either by means of some oracular mechanism or in a manner appropriate to induce the divine powers to express their answer in a form which only the *šā'il(t)u* was able to understand.

The verb "to ask" is here used in a technical sense best illustrated by the Old Testament passage, I Sam. 28:6. Saul approaches the Lord through three channels of accepted god-man communication: dreams, oracular mechanics, and the utterances of ecstatics, referring to this process with the verbs "to ask" and "to answer." The use of the Akkadian term *apālu*, "to answer" said of the response of the deity, has yielded the designation of some kind of diviner or perhaps "prophet" which appears in a text from Mari (Dossin, "Une Tablette inédite de Mari intéressante pour l'Histoire Ancienne du Prophétisme Sémitique," *Studies OT Prophecy*, 103–110, 1950) as, respectively, LÚ *āpilum* and, for the female, SAL *āpiltum*, corresponding thus to *šā'ilu* and *šā'iltu*.

The *šā'ilu* is often mentioned beside the typical divination-expert, the *bārû*-priest, who, however, seems to have had higher social standing, owing perhaps to his scholarly training, the organization of the *bārû*-priesthood or other, unknown, reasons. The two types of oracle-priests (*bārû* and *šā'ilu*) are mentioned side by side not only in religious texts (*cf.* below for references) but also in certain documents of daily life, such as in the Old Babylonian private letter, Schroeder, *VAS XVI* 22, and an Old Assyrian text of the same type (Contenau, *TCL II* 5).

In these two letters as well as in two more Old Assyrian letters (*Lewy KTS* 25*a*, Stephens, *BIN VI* 93), however, the priestess (*šā'iltu*) appears and not the priest, with *TCL II* 5 even containing a unique reference to a female *bārû*.

Here are the details: The Old Assyrian documents speak of the *šā'iltu* in connection with inquiries addressed to the god Assur in difficult situations. One passage (*TCL II* 5) runs as follows: "We shall ask here the *šā'iltu*-priestesses, the *bārîtu*-priestesses and the spirits of the dead (*eṭimmu*) and then Assur will threaten(?) you!"; in the letter *Lewy KTS* 25*a* these priestesses are approached in a case of sickness: "We went to the *šā'iltu*-priestess and thus said the *ilum*

(god or spirit, *cf.* below): 'Do not hold back my votive offerings!' " while a third letter (*BIN VI* 93) advises the addressee to ask the *šā'iltu*-priestess for advice.

It should be noted here as relevant that in all these passages only women are making use of the mantic faculties or techniques of the *šā'iltu*-priestess. In two cases, the latter is referred to in the plural, perhaps because they lived in groups, much like certain of the Old Testament prophets. As for women turning to the *šā'iltu*, this is likewise the case in the Old Babylonian letter *VAS XVI* 22 which runs: "on account of you (addressing another female), I shall go to the *bārû*-priest and to the *šā'iltu*-priestess!"

These facts suggest the explanation that the role of this priestess was restricted, in the period of our letters at least, to a specific social and spiritual level. Women exclusively seem to have relied for advice in difficult situations upon consultations with these priestesses. The *šā'iltu* apparently functioned mainly outside and below the domain of the official, temple-centered, religious life. The quoted letters, however, do not refer to dreams, while the e n s i-priestess of the Sumerian gods is definitely concerned with dream interpretation. She shares this function with other females of the heroic world of Sumerian and Akkadian epics. This development shows a progressive deterioration of the social position as well as a specialization, or better restriction, of the function of this type of priestess.

Among the Hittites, it should be noted here, only the SAL. e n s i is mentioned; her male counterpart is, as yet, not attested. As to the function of this priestess, the key passage *KUB XXX* 10: 24 f. does not give too clear a picture (*cf.* above p. 199.) Enumerated here as avenues of communication between man and the gods are: dreams, the divination-technique performed by the e n s i -priestess, and hepatoscopy. This must be taken to indicate that the interpretation of dreams was not considered the concern of the e n s i among the Hittites.

To complicate the situation, there exists an isolated passage in a justly famous hymn to Shamash, the Sun-god (*K.* 3182 I: 53–54), in which the *šā'ilu*-priest is actually characterized as the one who does the *pašāru* of dreams. This important passage describes also the technique of the "questioning (of the gods)" (*ša'ālu*) which gave this priest his designation: "in the cup of the craft of the diviner, in front(?) of the *riksu* (lit.: "preparation," here technical term pertaining to a ritual) (made) of cedar-wood, you (i.e. Shamash) instruct (var.: [you are] the one who instructs) the *šā'ilu*-priest, the *pa-ši-ru* (i.e., the one who does the *pašāru*) of dreams!"

These verses demonstrate that the *šā'ilu* used a tool (*makâltu*, a rather general designation for a container) in questioning the deity, and that he evidently used the same method to "interpret" dreams. Since Shamash is not only said (*cf.* below p. 232) to be the father of the God of Dreams, but is also praised as the deity who sends dreams to man, his role as the instructor of the "interpreter" of dreams is very revealing. We have here, patently, exactly the same situation as in the Old Testament: the enigmatic "symbolic" dream as well as its explanation originate from the same source. The god of the Old Testament sends out an inspired interpreter of dreams to whom he has communicated in some way (Daniel received his instructions in a vision) the "meaning" of the dream, that is, the "translation" of the symbols and their activities. Correspondingly, Shamash, the Sun-god of the Babylonians, sends such a dream to a person who then turns to a priest who "asks" the very same god by means of an oracular apparatus activated in some way to elicit expressions of divine intentions. The interpretation is then revealed by the same deity who sends the dream —but apparently only when induced to do so by a specialized priest. In our case this is the *šā'il(t)u* who uses for his purpose the *makâltu*-container.

In other passages, however, the *šā'ilu* is said to use a different technique. A bilingual prayer (IV *R* 22 no. 2) in which the symptoms of an afflicted person are described (lines 9, 11) reads: "the *bārû*-priest through his divining cannot put him on the correct road, the *šā'ilu*-priest through (his) *muššakku* cannot instruct(?) him (*ul i-pi-te-šú*)." *Cf.* with this passage the following phrase from *Ludlul-bêl-nêmeqi* (IV *R* 60: 7): "the *bārû*-priest has not investigated (my) state through divination, the *šā'ilu*-priest has not established (*ul ú-ša-pi*) my case through *maššakku!*" The last passage is explained in a commentary on the text (*K.* 3291: 25) by "scatter-offering of the *šā'ilu*-priest." The word recurs, furthermore, in the story of Etana when the hero, in a prayer to Shamash, expounds his piety saying, "I have honored (*ukabbit*) the gods, I revered the spirits of the departed, the SAL. e n s i -priestesses have completely performed the *maššakku* for me (*Babyloniaca* **12** pl. III 34: 36–37)."

Although the exact meaning of the term *ma/uššakku* (Sumerian: ŠE) remains obscure—it possibly denotes some kind of incense characteristic of a special ceremony (*mu-ša-kum* in unpublished Tell Asmar texts, Third Dynasty of Ur, refers to a festival)—the *šā'ilu*-priest as well as the *šā'iltu*-priestess used it probably for mantic purposes. It is possible that they divined by means of the form, color, and drift of the smoke rising from a censer on which the *maššakku* was scattered. We know of this technique from Old Babylonian omen texts (*YOS X* 57 = 58, 62, Lutz, *PBS I/2* 99 and *UCPSPh IX/5*), and one might even venture to say that while the *bārû*-diviner used mainly lecanomancy with his *makâltu*-cup, the *šā'il(t)u* may also have applied libanomancy to elicit divine answers from the smoke produced by incense.

In the classical world, especially in that of the Homeric epics, the term for the interpreter of dreams, *oneiropolos*, is likewise ambiguous; it denotes the priest

who explored the will of the deity by means of sought dreams (*cf. Iliad* 1: 62 f.) as well as the one who interpreted the dreams of his fellowmen (*cf. Iliad* 5, 149–151), "sons of the aged dream-interpreter, Eurydamas; yet for these two as they went forth the old man did not answer their dreams (translation of R. Lattimore)." This could imply that the *oneiropolos* likewise sought to establish the meaning of "symbolic" dreams by means of provoked dreams.

There exists an isolated reference in a famous Middle Assyrian political letter (Pinches, *JRAS* 1904: 415, also Weidner, *AfO* **10**: 5, Landsberger, *AfO* **10**: 140) which seems to indicate that the *bārû*-diviner could likewise seek information of the deity in dreams (*ba-ru-tum ip-pu-šu šu-na-a-ti i-ta-nam-ma-r[u]*). In this function, this Mesopotamian priest is comparable to the Greek *oneiropolos;* the passage implies that the *bārû* was not interpreting dreams but seeking to contact the deity by means of incubation-dreams (*cf.* above pp. 187 f.). For a similar activity performed, under certain circumstances, by the *šā'ilu*-priest, *cf.* presently.

It has to be stressed, at this point, that the interpreting of dreams was by no means the only function of the *šā'ilu*-priest. There are text-passages which show a wider range of his activities. Again, in *Ludlul-bêl-nêmeqi*, the sufferer complains, in illustration of his moribund condition: "the *šā'ilu*-priest called me time and again with a loud voice (but) I did not answer," while a Shamash hymn (*Thompson AMT* 71 f., 1: 40) addresses the Sun god: "Without you, the e n s i cannot give an oracle (ME.A) to the king." The latter aspect of the activities of our priest is furthermore illustrated in late (Seleucid) bilingual hymns; *Reisner SBH* 4: 19: "his case has no (competent) *bārû*, his case has no (competent) *šā'ilu*"; and lines 54–55, "if his case is brought to the *bārû*-priest, this *bārû* should be wrong, if his case is brought to the *šā'ilu*, this *šā'ilu* should be wrong!" For curiosity's sake, it should be mentioned that the last passage uses, for unknown reasons, the logogram ŠIM.SAR (literally, "maltster") for *šā'ilu*.

Parenthetically in this context and in order to illustrate the difficulty of such philological investigations, we must point out that not only is the logogram LÚ.ŠIM.SAR "maltster" equated with *āšipu* "conjuration-priest" (series "LÚ = *ša*" IVth Tabl. II: 151), but the learned designation of the brewer (LÚ.KUL.LUM) is also explained as *bārû* "divination-priest" in the same series (IInd Tabl. III: 18′). No explanation can be offered for these equations.

More important, however, than such references are vocabulary passages which elucidate through their context (sequence of entries) the background of the profession of the *šā'il(t)u*. Conversely, the information they contain will create more problems than they will solve and it will—above all—demonstrate how very much our investigation is still restricted to the surface of the meanings of this word.

A Sumero-Akkadian vocabulary, which contains names of professions, of social classes, etc., and is organized in groups (separated by dividing lines), mentions the *šā'il(t)u* in the following context (series "LÚ = *ša*" IInd Tabl. III: 22′–28′): The first of the entries of this group refers to an oracle-priest characterized as "the man who observes the censer" (in Sumerian) = "*bārû*-diviner who uses (incense-)smoke (for divination)" (in Akkadian). Then follows the name of our priest, the e n s i, and that of his female counterpart, the SAL. e n s i; they are explained in two lines as: (1) u r$_5$. r a . AŠ "(s)he who desires(?) oracles," and (2) l ú . < g i d i m > . m a "(s)he of the spirits of the dead." The subsequent equation follows up this very topic with: "the man with the b a l a g -drum" (in Sumerian) = "he who makes come forth the spirits of the dead" (in Akkadian). The fourth and last line of the group explaining e n s i refers to a man (l ú . s a g . š è . n á) who performs the *pašāru* of dreams (*mupaššir* [*šunāte*]). We will have to discuss this last designation after having dealt with the preceding entries.

The connection of the *šā'ilu* and especially that of his female counterpart with necromancy demonstrated by this vocabulary passage brings again to the fore the peculiar social position of the latter as evidenced in certain Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian private letters (*cf.* p. 221). One is bound to compare the *šā'iltu*-priestess with the witch of Endor (I Sam. 28: 7) mentioned in the Saul story as engaged in clandestine necromantic practices. This comparison is supported by the fact that the parallel passage in the First Book of Chronicles, which reports the same incident (I Chron. 10: 13), actually refers to the activity of this Hebrew *šā'iltu* with the verb *š.'.l* "to ask." And—to underline this connection—the Old Assyrian letter *TCL II* 5 (*cf.* above p. 221) mentions the "spirits of the dead" (*eṭimmu*) as being "asked" by the female diviners (*šā'iltu* and *bārîtu*), while the second letter of that period (*Lewy KTS* 25*a*, *cf.* above p. 221) refers to the answering supernatural being simply with *ilum*, "god," which in this context probably refers likewise to the spirits of the departed.

We shall study later (*cf.* p. 234) the relationship that seems to have existed between the abode of dreams, conceived as demons, and the realm of the dead; such a relation would obviously parallel the two-fold aspect of the function of the *šā'il(t)u*: necromancy and the interpretation of dreams. The former occupation certainly contributed towards the deterioration of the social standing of this diviner. Necromancy and related divinatory techniques are always and everywhere considered of low standing; they are practiced clandestinely and mostly in conflict with the official religious life.

We are now turning to the last equation contained

in our vocabulary. It reads as follows: LÚ.SAG. ŠÈ.NÁ.A = *mu-pa-šir* [*šunāte*], which means, in a provisional, literal translation: "the man who sleeps beside (lit.: at the head of another person)" = "he who does the *puššuru* [of dreams]." While the Akkadian designation refers to the function of the person, the Sumerian seems to describe the way in which this function was performed and the circumstances requiring it. One thing is rather obvious: the *mupaššir šunāte* cannot possibly be an interpreter of dreams, or at least not an oneirocritic in our sense, the main reason being that the Sumerian designation, whatever its actual meaning, does not lend itself to such an explanation.

The function of this profession is elucidated by an occurrence of the Sumerian word in the Cylinder A of Gudea, pointed out to me by my colleague, Dr. Th. Jacobsen. Here we have a very concise and difficult description of a dream-incident (the fourth of the text, *cf.* above p. 211) which takes place immediately before the building of the temple begins. When Gudea had assembled all the materials needed for the construction of the sanctuary, he lay down to sleep beside them (s a g . š è n á, Cyl. A XX: 7–11) in order to have a dream-experience. The content of his dream is described in very condensed form; it seems that the temple appeared to him, completed in all its details (é . 50 a n . k i . t a t i l . b i i g i . a m u . n a . a . g á l), thus providing Gudea at the appropriate moment with the necessary "blueprint."

Seen typologically, this is obviously an "inspirational" dream of a type which is, in the ancient Near East, represented only by this example (*cf.* p. 193) but which is well attested in the Far East and in North America (*cf.* p. 194). In the report of the construction of the temple it serves the purpose of endowing even the planning of details of the building with divine authority and—at the same time—of assuring its superlative beauty. A phrase in the description of temples, which we quote on p. 228 from late hymns ("temple, built like in a dream"), seems to offer a faint echo of this Sumerian concept.

Still, the dream is not only inspirational but also sought by Gudea. And this specific feature seems to have been referred to with the word s a g . š è n á, which appears in the beginning of the report: "Gudea lay down to sleep as a (or: like a (s a g . š è . n á." Here we have the very same designation which we found in our vocabulary as l ú . s a g . š è . n á . a. Both occurrences prove mutually elucidating. The Sumerian name of the profession refers to a priest who specialized in obtaining divine revelations in sought dreams like the Greek *oneiropolos* (*cf.* pp. 222 f.). The Akkadian equivalent *mupaššir* [*šunāte*] could be taken to indicate that it was customary to resort to the services of the l ú . s a g . š è . n á . a when evil, i.e., enigmatic, "symbolic" dreams bothered a person. Under such circumstances, this priest provoked a dream in which the deity was supposed to explain the meaning, i.e. the message, of the enigmatic dream. He thus actually "dispelled/dissolved the (evil) dreams," as his Akkadian designation clearly conveys. The Sumerian word (l ú . s a g . š è . n á . a) is difficult to explain; one may guess that the priest was receiving his dream-revelations in the sanctuary, sleeping (n á) beside (s a g . š è) the image or even beside the "patient" who had received the enigmatic dream. Be this as it may, it is rather certain that we have to deal here with a method of "interpreting" dreams which uses this same medium of communication with the deity but channels the "message" through a person of a specific cultic and/or charismatic standing expected to receive "message" dreams instead of "symbolic" dreams. This priest is listed in one group with the *šā'il(t)u* because his function and one of the several functions of the *šā'il(t)u* coincide. Only their methods seem to have differed.

Lastly in this discussion of the designation *šā'il(t)u*, we have to call attention to a use of this word outside of Mesopotamia proper. In a letter written in Akkadian by a king of Alasia (= Cyprus) to a king of Egypt and found in the famous archives of Amarna (Knudtzon, *VAB II* 35: 26), the Pharaoh was asked to send to Cyprus a diviner specialized in the observation of eagles and referred to as LÚ *ša-i-li* Â.MUŠEN.MEŠ, i.e., "*šā'ilu*-priest for eagles." In view of the rather restricted religious vocabulary used in the diplomatic correspondence carried on by foreign princes in Akkadian, the *lingua franca* of this period, the occurrence of this specific title is interesting for two reasons: (*a*) *šā'ilu* refers here to the diviner in a rather general way, and (*b*) the term *šā'il našrē* itself is unknown in Mesopotamian sources.

Here it might be remarked that augury based upon the movements and the sounds of a bird at a given moment and in a given place observed with the objective of obtaining a divine answer to a specific question (to use the Latin term, *auguria impetrativa*) was not practiced in Mesopotamia. There this species of divination relies on *auguria oblativa*, i.e., accidentally occurring actions of birds.

A unique exception is to be found in the inscription of Idrimi written in Akkadian (middle of second millennium) in Alalakh, near the Mediterranean Sea. In a critical situation, this king uses extispicy as well as augury (*Smith Idrimi*, line 28 f.) to establish the will of the gods. He releases (*zukkû*) birds, obviously to observe their behavior when they regain their freedom. In Syria the two *Kulturkreise* overlap: the Mesopotamian way of inspecting the entrails, and the "Mediterranean" (from Asia Minor [*cf.* the Sumerogram LÚ.IGI.MUŠEN used by the Hittites for the augur] to Etruria) where bird-omina (note the etymology of the term "augury") occupy a central position in the divinatory practices. While all this explains the interest of the king of Cyprus in such a specialist, we

fail to see why he turned to Egypt with his request, inasmuch as such techniques have, to our knowledge, never been applied in that country.

Our discussion of the *šā'ilu* should not terminate without mention being made of the fact that the Akkadians called that grotesquely shaped locust, *Mantis religiosa* (German: *Gottesanbeterin*), *šā'il eqli* "the *šā'ilu*-priest of the field" (Sumerian: b u r u$_5$. e n s i$_2$ "e n s i -locust"), as has been established by R. C. Thompson (*PRSM* 1926: 70, n. 7). The Akkadians certainly applied their term for the same reason as we do ours, the praying position of the large forelegs of the insect.

Summing up, the interpretation of "symbolic" dreams by means of divinatory techniques which aim to make the deity convey his message through another and unequivocal medium is but one of the many functions of the diviner-priest called *šā'ilu*, "he who asks (the gods) question." He and his female counterpart are attested throughout the entire history of Mesopotamian religion although not often enough to yield sufficient information as to their several techniques and their exact religious and social standing. The female *šā'ilu* (called in Sumerian SAL. e n s i , in Akkadian *šā'iltu*) seems to have operated on a different intellectual level and perhaps utilized different methods in her inquiries. Her occupation with the interpretation of "symbolic" dreams is only attested for the Sumerian period and in literary texts; later on she is often mentioned with other females of a special cultic standing, the reason being perhaps that her methods were intuitive rather than technical as were those of the *šā'ilu*. *Non liquet.*

6. ETIOLOGY

The etiology of the dream as an objective psychological experience as well as its theological validity as a medium of communication with the deity is the topic of the present section. The scantiness of the available information and the philological problems which such an investigation has to face force us to restrict its compass to Mesopotamia proper.

We plan to deal first with the information which can be culled from the etymology of the words for "dream" and "to dream"; then we shall turn to references which shed light upon the dream as a psychological experience in so far as this is reflected in cuneiform documents; and thirdly we shall discuss "theological" problems centering around the various Mesopotamian Dream-gods.

The outcome of such a study can hardly be expected to be very rewarding; not only is the relevant material scanty but it also often lacks precision and is contradictory if not actually leading to mutually exclusive conclusions. This situation in itself is but the reflection of different co-existing, "native" dream-theories each of which—as we hope to show presently —offers the etiology of a specific type of dream as admitted on a specific literary and intellectual level.

The usual word for "dream" in Akkadian is *šuttu*, derived from a root which has given that language the word for "sleep," i.e., *šittu*. This well-known semantic situation is duplicated in Akkadian itself in the case of the word *munattu*. The term, derived from a root *n.ṷ.m* (in Arabic *nāma* "sleep," in Ethiopic also "dream") means in Akkadian texts, in most instances, "early morning," but there are some references which require the translation "sleep" in the sense of "dream." Such examples are *CT XXIII*, 20 II: 22 where we read, in a conjuration against "the seeing of dead people," of apparitions occurring *ina* MÁŠ.GE$_6$ *u mu-na-at-ti* "in a dream or a *munattu*." The same pair of words occur in one of the dream-reports of the text *Ludlul-bêl-nêmeqi* (§8, no. 14 and p. 217) as MÁŠ.GE$_6$ *mu-na-at-tu* (*KAR* 175: 8), while *munattu* alone appears in the same opus (*Scheil Sippar* 55: 24) in a context where it may mean "sleep" as well as "dream": "[in] my sleep/dream ([*i-na*] *mu-na-at-ti*) he sent me a message." There exists, furthermore, an unpublished Sumero-Akkadian vocabulary fragment (series e r i m . ḫ u š II: 257–9), which arranges its entries in semantic groups, where the words *šuttu*, *ḫiltu*, and *munattu* are linked together as synonymous expressions for "dream." The term *ḫiltu* is new and cannot be explained.

As to *munattu*, it is possible that the word refers primarily to the sleep in the early hours of the morning, perhaps even to an intermediary stage between wakefulness and slumber in which dream-experiences of a special nature are said—in classical sources—to occur. Macrobius, in his Commentary to the Dream of Scipio (**3**: 7), knows of such phenomena and calls them in Greek *phantasma*, in Latin *visum*.

Another Akkadian word for "dream" is *tabrît mûši* which occurs only in literary and late texts mostly written with the Sumerogram MÁŠ.GE$_6$, which is, very rarely (*cf.* e.g. *Harper ABL* 1021: 14, 16, to which *cf.* p. 192), shortened to MÁŠ. The customary translation "nocturnal vision" is somewhat inadequate, because *tabrît mûši* is typically used as a poetic synonym for dream.

The use of the word MÁŠ suggests, however, that our term refers to what we call in this part the "message" dream. The equations of the vocabulary-series LU = *ša* (2nd Excerpt lines 121–122) differentiate MÁŠ explained as *bi-i-ru* "divination," from MÁŠ.GE$_6$ = *šu-ut-tu* "dream," i.e., MÁŠ of the night, and thus confirm such an interpretation. The connection with divinatory practices is clearly indicated by the term MÁŠ (*cf.* also the priestly title MÁŠ.ŠU.GÍD.GÍD) meaning "kid" which seems to be in the same relationship to "divination" as Greek *oiōnos* "bird" to *oiōnos* "omen, augury." What the observation of birds meant to Greek divination, the technique of investigating the ominous features in the

intestines of the sacrificial lamb meant to that of (Semitic) Mesopotamia.

The Akkadian rendering of MÁŠ.GE$_6$ is *tabrît mûši* which refers with *tabrîtu* (from *burrû* "to indicate, show") to visionary experiences of a specific sacred nature. This is clearly shown in such a passage as *VAT* 10075 (*ZA* **43**: pl. III–IV) line 41, "he saw a *tabrît mûši* in his dream." However, as against "vision" (often used in parallelism with "dream" in the Old Testament), designated in Akkadian by *bîru*, our *tabrît mûši* means basically "nocturnal revelation."

In Sumerian, the word m a . m ú is normally used for "dream," but there exists also ù (from u s a) which originally meant "sleep." As to m a . m ú, the interpretation "creation of the night" has been proposed by A. Falkenstein, *Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas von Lagaš* **1**, 27 (Rome, Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1949–1950); for the god ^{d}M a . m ú (i.e., "God Dream") *cf.* below p. 232.

The Hittites have accepted both Sumerian terms as Sumerograms beside their vernacular term (*tešhaš*, *cf.* presently). They mostly used Ù but in a few instances (*cf.* Goetze, *MVAeG* **38**: 264) also MA.MÚ.

While most of these expressions illustrate the semantic relationship between the words for "dream" and "sleep," there are languages which derive their words for "dream" from roots connected with visual experiences. Here we have the root *ḥ.l.m* which yields the words for "dream" in Hebrew, Ugaritic, Aramaic, and Arabic, with Ugaritic offering the long-awaited evidence that *ḥ.l.m* means "to see." *Cf.* C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook; revised Grammar, Paradigms, Texts in Transliteration, comprehensive Glossary* 228 no. 674, Rome, Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1947. *Cf.* also the semantic parallels of Arabic *ru'a* for "dream" (from *ra'à* "to see") and Coptic *nw* "to see (a dream)" (A. Volten, *Demotische Traumdeutung = Papyrus Carlsberg No. XIII–XIV* 7, Copenhagen, Munksgard, 1942).

Still another aspect of the dream-experience is stressed by the Egyptian (and Coptic) term for "dream," *rswt*, which, as was shown on p. 190, conceives of the dream as a specific state of consciousness between wakefulness and sleep.

The Hittite word for "dream" is *tešhaš* (*cf.* J. Friedrich, *IF* **43**: 258, n. 4, 1926) which appears also as *zašḫāi* and *zazḫi* (*Goetze-Pedersen, Muršilis* 23, 41, also A. Goetze, *KlF* **1**: 232). The pertinent verb *tešḫanna-* means "to appear in a dream" and is always said of the appearing deity. For an Indo-European etymology, *cf. Goetze-Pedersen Muršilis*, 69.

In Akkadian, dreams are normally "seen"; the verbs used in this context are, as a rule, *amāru* and *naṭālu*, rarely *naplusu*, and, only when the deity is introduced as causing the dream, *šubrû* "to make see." In certain and rather rare instances, however, passages occur which speak of dreams as being "brought" by some agency to the sleeping person. Such a difference in approach reflects necessarily a far-reaching difference in the etiology of the dream and requires, as such, investigation.

The evidence for *abālu* "to carry, bring," used in connection with dreams, is the following: On a fragment belonging to the section of our Dream-Book which contains rituals (*cf.* p. 298), we read, "this dream which was brought to me either in the first, the middle (or) the last watch of the night . . . ," the verbal form being *ib-bab-lam-ma* (passive of *abālu*) (*cf.* also p. 216 and §8, no. 5). The same verb recurs in an entirely different context; we have in a passage of an Old Babylonian private letter (Thureau-Dangin, *TCL I* 53: 27–28) a stern warning addressed to the sister of the writer and worded as follows: "whatever you do, my dreams will bring to me!" Here the verbal form is *it-ta-na-ab-ba-la-nim* (active, habitative of *abālu*). Then we have a third reference which further increases the complexity of the situation. In a hymn to the god Nusku (*KAR* 58: rev. 1 ff.), the God of Dreams (*cf.* below p. 233) is described as to his function as "he who carries mankind (around)," i.e., *ba-bi-lu a-me-lu-ti* (line rev. 9). There is still another reference taken from an omen-text which is too damaged to be of any use ("[if a man . . .] x y night, a dream has brought him (MÁŠ.GE$_6$ *ub-la-ma-šu*), this man (will experience): wrath of the deity").

In these passages, as far as they can be understood, we seem to have—*in nuce*—samples of most of the dream-theories known to the ancient Near East.

In terms of phenomenology, any pre-psychological dream-theory has either what we would like to dub here an "objective" or a "subjective" approach. The "objective" theory presumes again either a passive or an active participation or attitude of the person experiencing the dream. In the first case ("objective-passive"), the content of the dream is "objectively" enacted in front of the more or less passive dreamer. The deity has the initiative, his intention being to deliver the message. The "message" dream is, of course, the ideal representative of this theory, but the "symbolic" dream as far as its content is mantic (and intelligible) can likewise be thus explained.

The sub-theory classified here as "objective-active" presupposes an entirely different concept of the soul as seat and carrier of the ego. This soul, or some constituent part of a multiple soul, is assumed to leave the body during the sleep and to visit in some mysterious way the persons and places the dreamer "sees" in his dream. This can be done out of the soul's own volition (*cf.* the Old Babylonian letter quoted above) or through the agency of a divine power, e.g. the "God of Dreams" (*cf.* the example taken from the hymn to Nusku, quoted above). It is but natural that such an explanation does not fit those dreams which are considered in the ancient Near East as theologically valid, i.e. those restricted to kings and priests and conveying a message. Dreams of travel-

ing, of seeing foreign and strange places and persons fall here into the category of the "symbolic" dreams which have either to be interpreted to extract their mantic meaning or are to be disregarded and "dissolved" by means of cathartic rites. This explains, by the way, why we have so few references for the term *abālu* in connection with dreams.

To the "subjective" theory there are likewise two approaches. There is first the purely rationalistic and materialistic explanation of the dream-experience, an approach which in the literatures of our civilizations is restricted to the so-called "Wisdom" texts, to certain figures of speech referring to dreams, and, rather rarely, to attempts to describe dream-experiences factually without consideration of any theological or mantic implications. Secondly, there are the dreams which are not considered as originating within the individual, but as happening to him, partly as a consequence of his momentary state of health, of mind, etc., and partly on account of malevolent magic activities of outside forces. In both cases they reflect the cultic standing of the dreamer; such dreams—pleasant or evil—are symptoms rather than specific experiences. Their content is neither meaningful nor worth recording.

We shall now dwell for a time on the last two types, the "subjective" approaches to the dream-experience, because they will introduce us to the very core of the problem of the dream-types outside of the "message"-dream pattern which we have studied in the preceding sections of this part.

That repository of all the irrepressible rationalistic attitudes, of the sadly cynical views of the world in which man has to live, of all the practical and pithy advice handed down from disillusioned generations to other generations, the "Wisdom" literature of the ancient Near East, is rather taciturn with regard to dreams, their function, and their meaning. The impact of the cares, the apprehensions and the hopes of daily life upon the content of dreams (*cf.* Herodotus 7: 16, 2) has, however, been realized in the Old Testament as well as in Mesopotamia. The author of the Ecclesiastes refers to them with a verse (5: 2) for which the Vulgate seems to have the best translation: *multas curas sequuntur somnia* ("For a dream comes through too much business"); and we happen to have a saying contained in a fragmentary cuneiform (Akkadian) "Wisdom" text (*K.* 1453: 18–19, Macmillan, *BA* **5**: 624 f.) which offers an amusing parallel: "Remove [wo]e and anxiety from your heart (literally: from your side), [wo]e and anxiety create (only bad) dreams!" The text continues with another saying mentioning dreams but is badly broken, and the sentence cannot be translated with any certainty. The scarcity of such allusions, however, is in itself revealing.

Of the various physiological pressures which are reflected in the mood and the nature of individual dream-experiences, such as sex, thirst, hunger, and indigestion, only the first is mentioned in actual dream-reports. Thirst and hunger are referred to in the Isaiah passage 29: 8, but only in a simile: "It shall even be as when a hungry man dreameth, and, behold, he eateth; but he awaketh, and his soul is empty: or as when a thirsty man dreameth, and, behold, he drinketh; but he awaketh, and, behold, he is faint, and his soul hath appetite." Indigestion, to which—apart from hunger and thirst—Greek rationalistic dream-theories never fail to refer, remains without any consideration in the etiological attempts of the ancient Near East.

In spite of the obvious censorship which relegated dreams dealing with the sex life into the anonymity of the category "evil dreams" (*cf.* below p. 229), one such dream has actually been recorded and a few others are referred to in cuneiform literature.

The recorded dream is preserved in the Hittite collection of dreams experienced by the king, the queen, and high officials of the Hittite court which we have already discussed on p. 193. It had been recorded because it contains the promise of a votive-offering made by the queen and, as such, was incorporated in this "memorandum" of the temple. Here is the text, which is not only of human interest but belongs to the few dream-reports of the ancient Near East (*cf.* pp. 193, 203, and 230 for similar instances) that lend themselves rather obviously to psychoanalytic investigations: "When, in a dream, in the town of Ḫamina, in the rear of the *tarnu*-house (building reserved for ritual ablutions, *cf.* S. Alp in *JCS* **1**: 172, n. 24) some husky men had molested the queen, the queen made, in the dream, a vow to the god Šarrumma of the town Urikina, (to wit) a (model of a) *tarnu*-house (made) of gold!" (*KUB XV* no. 1 II: 5–10 = 37–41).

Although the wording is carefully euphemistic, the content reveals with disarming directness a specific psychological situation. The full grasp of the implications involved is, however, denied to us, because the background of the incident, i.e., the nature and purpose of the rituals performed in the *tarnu*-house, are known to us only approximately.

From Mesopotamia proper we have references to sex in dreams mainly from omen texts. These come from that large collection of omina (known after its *incipit* as *šumma âlu ina mêlê šakin*) of which tablet no. 104 deals with incidents taken from sexual activities. They are (*CT XXXIX* 44: 9): "If a man is sexually excited during the night and has a pollution in his dream (this means): this man will suffer (financial) losses," and (*CT XXXIX* 45: 26–27), "if a man is sexually excited in his dreams and wakes up during the night and has a pollution (this means): this man will . . . , he will acquire riches."

A unique passage alluding to incestuous dreams occurs in the unpublished tablet *K.* 2315+ which I hope to deal with elsewhere. In a prayer to ward off

all kinds of evil portents, unlucky omina, etc., we read in line 86: *ina* MÁŠ.GE$_6$.MU *ana* AMA *ba-ni-ti-ia ana* AMA-*ia mi-ti ana a-ḫa-ti-ia lu-u aṭ-ḫi* "(did all this occur because) I have had sexual contact in a dream with my own mother, with my deceased mother, with my sister?"

The cuneiform omen-literature yields, furthermore, an isolated example of the description of a specific kind of dream, taken purely as a psychological experience and divorced from supernatural or irrational connotations. The following item is taken from a fragmentary tablet containing a collection of omina (F. R. Kraus, *ZA* **43**: 96 II: 18) which deduce prognostics from such personal characteristics of a person as speaking habits, moral qualities or defects, etc.: "If, in his dream(s), he often walks around naked and [ ], (it means): troubles will not touch this man."

In its attempt to describe a psychological type by means of a characteristic dream-experience this omen suggests a very modern insight into the relationship between dream-content and the psychological make-up of the individual. Still it would certainly grossly overestimate the reach of Akkadian "psychology" if one should assert that the prediction in this omen actually expresses such an insight: in other words, that the man is considered a likely success in life if he belongs to a specific psychological type. The problem of the relationship between dream and prognostic will, however, be our concern later on (*cf.* p. 241).

The use of the dream in similes and other figures of speech constitutes another source of information as to what the civilizations of the ancient Near East considered the essential features of that experience. Out of the entire cuneiform literature I could collect only two instances of such a use of the word "dream." In certain bilingual hymnical texts of the later period, we read sometimes, when the beauty or rather the splendor of a city or a temple is described: "my temple which is built like (one which one sees in) a dream!" The Sumerian é . m a . m ú . d a m a . d ù . m u was rendered in Akkadian, with patent inadequacy, as follows: É *ša ki-ma šu-ut-tim in-ni-ip-šá-am* (*cf.* Langdon, *BE XXX* 12: 5 from Nippur, and *Reisner SBH* 31: 21–23 of the Seleucid period).

Then there is a unique reference from a hymn to Nergal found on a tablet in the library of Assurbanipal which sheds a revealing light on the native etiology of the dream; on p. 234 this passage will be discussed.

Egyptian texts offer somewhat more information in this respect; the phrase "in the manner of a dream" (*cf.* also H. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen, vom Denken und Dichten einer altorientalischen Sprache* 140, Leipzig, Hinrich, 1924) is not only used more often than the corresponding expression in Mesopotamian texts but also in a greater variety of instances. The "Wisdom" text known as "The Instruction of the vizier Ptah-hotep" (lines 277–288) carries a warning against women which uses the dream-experience as a simile to characterize the short-lived nature of the pleasures of love: "One may be ruined by glistening limbs as she stands transformed by blushes. It is a moment brief as a dream, but one may attain death from experiencing it!" The "Song of the Harper" (M. Lichtheim, *JNES* **4**: 197) in its courageous scepticism refers to dreams in the same vein: "as for the span of earthly affairs, it is the manner of a dream!"

The bewildering disappearance in dreams of the limitations of time and space which characterize the waking world has likewise impressed the imagination of the Egyptians. Sinuhe, in his attempt to describe the uncontrollable impulse that forced him to flee the country, resorts to a dream-simile (line 225): "It was just like a dream, as when a native of the Delta sees himself in Elephantine or a man of the (Delta) lagoons in the land of Nubia."

In the Old Testament, the ephemeral pleasures of the sinner living in prosperity are likened in Job 20: 8 to dreams: "He shall fly away as a dream, and shall not be found: yea, he shall be chased away as a vision of the night."

Finally, we would like to quote here a passage from the *Odyssey* (19: 581) referring to memories of things past which so often haunt dreamers but are only rarely mentioned in descriptions of or allusions to dreams found in the civilizations of the ancient Near East: "this home which even in my dreams I shall never forget!" said Penelope envisaging the possibility of leaving the palace of Odysseus when she decided to put the suitors to the fateful contest.

The description of a dream-experience in purely psychological terms appears in the *Iliad* (22: 199–200) where Achilles' desperate but ineffective attempts to overtake Hector when he was pursuing the latter under the walls of Troy was likened by the poet to the well-known, frustrating pursuit dreams.

To show that genuine dream-contents were exceptionally recorded without regard to patterns and literary aspirations but apparently solely for scientific reasons, we offer, in §8, no. 24, a translation of the famous Greek dream-papyri found in the Serapeum and dated from the second century B.C. For more information concerning the background of these startling records of dreams, *cf.* K. Sethe, "Serapis, und die sogenannten Katochoi des Serapis" (*Abhandlungen d. kgl. Gesellschaft d. Wissensch., Phil.-hist. Kl.*, Göttingen, NF **14** (5)) and A. Storch-F. Heichelheim, "Zum Traumglauben und Traumverständnis in der Antike auf Grund urkundlicher Traumberichte aus der Ptolemäerzeit," *Zentralblatt für Psycho-Therapie und ihre Grenzgebiete* **4**: 549 ff.

We have to turn now to an entirely different type of dream which we have left aside so far for the simple reason that the contents of these dreams are never indicated. Throughout the present investigation we have concerned ourselves exclusively with dreams

which were considered worthy of recording because their contents were either direct divine revelations or conveyed such messages couched in the language of "symbols." The dreams which we are now going to discuss were not judged according to their individual contents but rather according to their immediate effect on the dreaming person. As such they are devoid of primary religious or mantic implications, and fall naturally into two categories: pleasant and unpleasant. It stands to reason that they were, in practice, only of importance when they were unpleasant, oppressive, etc., and under these circumstances their individual contents remained, for obvious superstitious reasons, untold.

Pleasant dreams are simply designated as such: *šunāte damqāte* (with the plural reflecting the anonymity of such dreams), while for the far more important bad and unpleasant dreams there exists a number of designations. They are termed "evil" (*limnu*), "confused" (*pardu*), "strange" (*aḫû*), "dark" (*eklu*), and also *šâšu* "confounded"—or, euphemistically, "not good" (*la-ṭâbu*, *la-banû*). The rare expression *ḫâṭû* is used inexactly because it means "false, misleading" and thus introduces the criterion of meaning.

Good dreams are probably not only those which evoke pleasant emotions, but also those which are distinguished by the absence of the fear, the oppressiveness and anxieties which characterize unpleasant, evil dreams. The actual nature of the dream-experience termed "evil" is, however, never described. It should be noted in this context that no word is known in Akkadian for the nightmare; the term *elînîtu* (Old Babylonian: *elânîtum*) which would fit semantically (*cf.* Greek: *epi(h)altes*, Latin: *incubus* with Akkadian: "she who is above") seems rather to refer to a human being with especially powerful and dangerous magic qualities.

There exists, however, one description of a nightmarish dream. The Old Babylonian omen text *VAT* 7525 (to be published by this author), which contains a rather unsystematic collection of physiognomatic and other omina, offers the following description of an evil dream with pertinent prognostic: "If a man—when he is asleep—the town falls repeatedly upon him, and he cries (for help) and one does not hear him (this means): this man will have attached to him a protective angel and a (good) spirit. If a man—when he is asleep—the town falls repeatedly upon him, and he cries (for help) and one hears him (this means): an evil spirit will be attached to him" (rev. III: 28–35). Although there is no mention of the customary words for dream and dreaming, the context shows clearly that a nightmare is described.

Outside of the probably secondary or accessory mantic use made of their phenomenal content, dreams, be they pleasant or evil, are considered in Mesopotamia symptoms expressing the cultic as well as the (coordinated and interdependent) psycho-somatic status of the individual. The symptomatic aspects of these dreams have to be clearly kept apart from their mantic implications which foretell the future of the dreamer. Thus, a pleasant dream may predict unfortunate events and *vice versa*. The connection between the subject matter of the mantic dream and its prognostications is based on certain free associations and a variety of pseudo-rational hermeneutic principles which we shall discuss in the last section of this part. The relationship existing between the dreamer (and his psychological status) and the nature of the (symptomatic) dream, on one hand, and that which exists between the manifest dream-content and future events, on the other, represent the two basic aspects of the dream-experience of the common man. The symptomatic nature of such dreams is clearly demonstrated in an Old Babylonian private letter which illustrates, at the same time, that this attitude was well founded in popular beliefs. A businessman from abroad writes home (*PBS VII* 17: 24–25), "I am fine (*ša-al-ma-ku*) and the boss is fine (*ša-li-im*), and my dreams are exceedingly pleasant (*šu-na-tu-ú-a ma-di-iš da-am-ga*)." Dreams are here mentioned and qualified to indicate that the writer of the letter is not only physically in a good state (that is referred to with *šalmāku*) but also in fine spirits, enjoying peace of mind. Note furthermore the following omen-passage taken from a text mentioned already on p. 228 (F. R. Kraus, *ZA* **43**: 96 II: 17): "If (a person) (always) says 'My dreams are fine!' (it means): the guardian of the health (*cf.* below p. 230) of [this] man [takes good care of him (or the like)]." This again illustrates the symptom value of pleasant and evil dreams in relation to the status of the "health" of the dreamer.

Assurbanipal, however, as king and priest, expresses this same psychological situation in a somewhat different way. When he describes his triumphant feelings after good news arrived from all battle fronts, he says (Cyl. A X: 70–71), "(when I was) in (my) bed, my dreams were very pleasant (*du-um-mu-qu* MÁŠ.GE$_6$.MEŠ-*ú-a*), and, in the morning, I overheard only nice words (said by other persons) (literally: 'my *kledons* were nice' *ba-nu-ú e-gir-ru-ú-a*)." The king obviously views dream-experiences on the same phenomenological level as overheard chance utterances (*cf.* above p. 211): they happen to him but, at the same time, express or reflect the subjective and momentary state of his soul and body. Here we touch—in passing only, because the topic is too important to be dealt with cursorily—upon a fundamental Mesopotamian concept which sees in "history" (i.e., in the sequence of happenings, from birth to death, in the life of a person or a country) only the materialization of what is termed "fate" (*šimtu*), meaning the "nature" with which a supreme cosmic power or order has endowed every individual (king or private person) at birth, a country or city or even a stone of a specific kind at the creation of the world.

The pleasant portents (dreams as well as *kledons*) happen to Assurbanipal because it is his *šimtu* to be victorious and happy.

Good dreams, and their diurnal counterparts such as *kledons*, portentous encounters of all kinds, are thus taken as symptoms and as such carefully observed and noticed. When evil dreams oppress and frighten the individual, he turns to his god, praying: "Make pleasant my dream (*dum-mi-iq šu-ut-tu*) (when I am on my) nocturnal couch!" (*K.* 2279+ in *JRAS* 1920: 567: rev. 22), or: "May the dream I shall see (this night) be pleasant (SIG_5-*at*), may the dream I shall see be reliable (GE.NA-*at*), turn you (the gods) the dreams I shall see into pleasant ones (*ana* SIG_5-*ti tir-ri*)" (IV *R* 66* no. 2 rev. 22–23). *Cf.* also analogous passages in the series *Meier Maqlû* VII: 174 and in prayers (*King BMS* 6: 116, 22: 63, etc.).

A person suffering from evil dreams may turn to that protective spirit called *maṣṣar šulmi* "guardian of health" (*passim* in Old Babylonian letters—*PBS VII* 105—and in later texts—*Harper ABL* 427, 453, 778, etc.) who is supposed to ward off such experiences (*cf. King BMS* 12: 113, also the passage quoted above). Or he may resort to magic, burying apotropaic figurines under the floor of his bedroom upon which are written such commands as, "Get out, evil (caused) by dreams, come in, pleasantness (caused) by dreams!" (*Thompson AMT* 101, 2, right col. rev. 9–10, 13–14).

The close interrelation between evil dreams and the state of health of the dreaming person is illustrated in the medical text, *Thompson AMT* 86 II: 3–7, where we find the following item: "If the head of a man 'seizes' him repeatedly [ ], his dreams are confused, he has po[llutions repeatedly] in his sleep, his 'knees' (euphemism) are bound, [there is] paralysis in his *bamtu* (back?), his flesh is quite full of *ruṭibtu* (wet spots?), (diagnosis): this man is bewitched . . ."; there follows the therapy prescribed for this case. *Cf.* a similar passage in *Thompson AMT* 96, 7: 4. The colophon of the text *Thompson AMT* 79, 1, of the same collection of medical texts indicates that there existed in the library of Assurbanipal a tablet beginning with the line, "If a man in his dream sees repeatedly [ ]," which must have contained specific prescriptions against dreams of certain contents; in this case we may restore perhaps "[dead people]."

Evil dreams can under certain circumstances impair the health of a person. The Hittite rituals concerned with the magic preparation of a woman for childbirth require different ceremonies according to whether or not she has been "contaminated" by dreams occurring before the event; *cf. KBo V* 1 I: 32 (Pāpanikri Ritual) and *KUB IX* 22 III: 30, 35 (plus Balkan, *ABoT* no. 71).

For the Greek view of dreams as a manifestation of the physiological status of the dreamer, or better, patient, *cf.* simply E. R. Dodds' remarks (and references given) on the Hippocratic treatise, "On Regimen," *op. cit.*, 119 f.

It is a great loss to an investigation interested in the psychology of the dream that the "evil" dreams are consistently mentioned without any reference to their contents. Their importance is illustrated by an isolated instance which makes us feel only more acutely our loss. For this reason we have to deal here—at some length—with a strange story contained in a Hittite cultic text which has been transliterated and translated by A. Goetze and H. Pedersen under the title *Muršilis Sprachlähmung*. The Hittite king relates the story beginning, with rare psychological insight, at the very incident which later becomes crucial in his "case history." A thunderstorm catches him on a trip to the city Til-Kunnu[ ] and, apparently, an especially loud thunderclap inflicts upon the king a shock severe enough to impede somewhat his faculty of speech. The next sentence in the report is philologically difficult, but it seems to have been intended to express that the king "forgot" the entire incident (*cf. Goetze-Pedersen Muršilis*, 20). After several years, however, Murshili began to dream of this thunderstorm and, this we may well read into the text, experienced time and again the original shock. Patently, these oppressive dreams must have increased in number as well as in intensity until, as the king puts it, the "Hand of the God" struck him during such a dream, causing complete aphonia.

The text then turns to its main topic, the report of the ritual steps taken by the king's advisors to relieve his distress. The ritual is described in considerable detail to which we shall have to refer presently in two essential points.

This rather routine case of hysterical aphonia is remarkably well described. The references to the repression of the first experience of the shock and to the increasing deterioration of the king's condition, caused—or, as we would say, expressed—by his dreams, are as precise and as revealing as any psychoanalyst might hope for.

As is natural under such circumstances, the real cause of the king's disease is not indicated in the account, not only for stylistic or other formal reasons, but because this cause was most certainly unknown to the patient himself. We are therefore reduced to guesses about what the report left unsaid and what only a very intensive questioning of the king by a trained psychoanalyst would have been able to bring out.

The sequence of events and certain details of the story seem to suggest the following, necessarily hypothetical, reconstruction of the situation. The king must have been under a very heavy emotional strain during his trip to the city Til-Kunnu[ ]. It is likely (*cf.* below) that this journey had cultic rather than political or military implications and that the king traveled either against his wishes or because he

felt, subconsciously of course, that something basic was wrong with the timing or the purpose of the trip or perhaps with his own person in relation to the objective of the journey. The subsequent incident must then needs have confirmed his forebodings.

The journey seems to have been a rather important and perhaps even a rare event. This can be supported by the following fact: his garments (expressly described as festive) used at that occasion and also the chariot and the horses were later on considered contaminated by the accident during the thunderstorm and had to be handed over to the Weather-god as "sacred," i.e., tabooed; all this, however, happened many years after the event, which shows that these royal paraphernalia must have been important enough to make it possible to identify them exactly after such a long period had elapsed.

The narrow escape from being hit by the thunderbolt of the apparently enraged Weather-god seems to have been interpreted by the king, under the influence of his state of mind, as a very forceful warning on account of—this is a mere guess again—his rebellious thoughts, impious attitude or the like.

The shock itself caused a not too serious disturbance of the king's faculty of speech which one could interpret as a kind of self-inflicted punishment for the king's forbidden thoughts. This hypothesis can be supported by the following considerations: the traumatic experience seems to have relegated that specific (extraordinary but unknown) attitude of the king into his subconscious, while he protected himself against the pangs of his bad conscience by forgetting, or—as the Hittite text seems to put it—by "repressing" the entire incident. The latter, however, began—quite naturally, as one is inclined to say nowadays—to affect his dreams in a way which led to an increasing deterioration of his faculty of speech. This symptom again adds credence to the hypothesis just offered concerning the king's state of mind at the moment the thunderclap threw him into aphonia.

The contents of these dreams are not described, but for the remark that the king dreamed eventually that the "Hand of the God" struck him in his dream causing either complete aphonia or, as the wording could admit likewise, a stroke which paralyzed half of his face so that his mouth was drawn askew(?). The former alternative seems to be more in keeping with the statement that the "Hand of the God" struck the king in a dream.

It seems that the king revived and relived in these succeeding dreams the original shock caused by the thunderclap with which he believed the deity to have reacted to his innermost thoughts. In the meantime the subconscious resistance of the king grew in intensity until—at the climax of this development—he had a dream in which he was actually hit. Thus the battle raging in the subconscious of the king between that specific attitude and the increasing feeling of guilt imposed by the thought and behavior pattern inherent in his position came to a sudden end with an utter defeat of the ego of the king and this found its expression in his inability to speak.

Whether the treatment prescribed and executed by the king's priestly advisers had any effect we cannot tell, but it is possible that the complete surrender of the king's ego—in fact his annihilation as a personality—which the ritual was meant to symbolize and to bring about magically was able to solve the inner conflict of Murshili. Purified by a variety of rites, he was to lay his hands on a bull that was to be brought into the temple of the Weather-god to be given there as a burnt offering. The bull, described by a Hurrian (better, Akkado-Hurrian) technical term (*puḫugarri*) as "substitute," was accompanied by a pack which contained the entire royal paraphernalia, chariot, horses, garments, shoes, weapons, and the very table, bed, bowl, and wash basin, and every utensil he customarily used; all this was to be transported into the temple of the Weather-god and was—most likely—to be burned there with its means of transportation. On top, all the garments, etc. (*cf.* above), used on the day of the thunder-incident were to be destroyed in the same way. Nothing can express more pointedly the utter renunciation, the complete elimination of the old ego, which was considered the only adequate and efficient solution of the king's distress. The therapeutic impact of such a "psychological" treatment could well have been successful as well as lasting in its effect.

In Mesopotamia—and probably everywhere in the ancient Near East—evil dreams were often conceived of as inflicted upon a man either by his god when the latter turned away from him because of his sins or, also, by his enemies who took advantage of the defenselessness caused by the wrath of his protective deity (*cf.* e.g. *KAR* 76:3 for the *kullumu* of bad dreams by one's enemies). They are sent against man exactly as are diseases, mental and physical afflictions of every description. But these tormenting evil dreams can be dispelled, as numerous passages from prayers and conjurations show, if the sufferer's prayers to the gods, especially to Shamash and to Sin, are favorably accepted or if a more potent counter-magic can be set afoot by the "physician" of the patient. When his evil dreams stop or change into pleasant ones it is regarded the manifest sign of his return to grace—and health.

Evil dreams remain, as we have seen, anonymous; their individual manifest content remains hidden behind the (grammatical) plural in which they are consistently referred to in Akkadian, Hebrew (*cf.* Job 7:14) and Egyptian (*cf.* K. H. Sethe, *op. cit.* sect. 1–11); for a Greek example of this difference between "dream" and "dreams," *cf. Odyssey* 20: 87, and likewise the "dreams" of the wife of Pilatus (Matt. 27:19). Plainly one avoided, for superstitious rea-

sons, describing the contents of evil dreams; they were considered contaminations and defiled, as such, the individual as would any other untoward happening, evil-portending encounter, the sight of certain people, animals or objects, or countless other purely "accidental" circumstances do their observer.

Such dreams are conceived of as "objective" events; they do not lose their effect even if the person who experiences them happens to forget their content. This is demonstrated in one of the numerous rituals contained in the Assyrian Dream-Book (*cf.* p. 298), which refers to forgotten dreams without regard to whether they have been pleasant or evil: "(as to) the dream which you (addressing the "God of Dreams") know but which I do not know, if it was pleasant, may its pleasantness not miss me, if it was evil, may its evil not reach me!"

A similar attitude is recorded in the Babylonian Talmud (*Berakoth* 55*b*) where a prayer is prescribed to turn forgotten dreams into favorable prognostics. Yet the Old Babylonian omen text *VAT* 7525 of the Berlin Museum (*cf.* above p. 229), refers to such dreams in a somewhat different way: "If a man cannot remember the dream he saw (it means): his (personal) god is angry with him" (I: 31–32).

Summing up, these dreams, pleasant or evil, do not predict the future of the dreaming person nor do they warn or promise; they are but indicators of the physical and/or psychological status of the person who is experiencing them, and this status in itself is but the expression of the cultic standing of the person, in other words of the extent to which he is endowed with the protective deities who safeguard the life, success, and happiness of the individual.

The natural consequence of such a concept of dreams is to see in them demonic powers, even demonic beings, who roam through the night attacking those who cannot protect themselves. This in turn is bound to give rise to the concept of a ruler of these dream-demons, a "Lord of Dreams," a deity who is in charge of them. And a deity must necessarily be incorporated into the hierarchy of the pantheon, be given a status, hence a parentage, and assigned a dwelling place.

All this seems to be the reason why Mesopotamian religion, at least the theological literature, knows of a "God of Dreams." In terms of the typology of the Mesopotamian gods and their designations, in fact, of all Semitic theological constructions of that nature, this is quite unique and unparalleled. Even the Greeks, so given to personifying psychological and even physiological phenomena, have not taken this step. They speak of the "people of dreams" (*Odyssey* 24: 12) or the "tribe of dreams" (Hesiod *Theogony* 211 f.), even locating them in the West, near the region of the dead (*cf.* below p. 235), but know of no deity in charge of these demons (for Hermes Oneiropompos, *cf.* below p. 236). The existence of a "God of Dreams" (*ilu ša šunāte*) in Mesopotamia can only be understood in light of our preceding discussion dealing with the demonic nature of certain dream-experiences. The Dream-god exists only with respect to this specific aspect but remains meaningless and non-existent when dreams are considered as to their mantic implications, or where they are reserved for certain individuals as a means of communication with the deity.

There are known, in fact, several deities which the lists of the theologians describe as the gods of dreams, the God Dream, etc. Their names are: ^{d} M a . m ú , ^{d}AN.ZA.QAR (variant: ^{d}AN.ZAG.GAR) and ^{d}*Zaqīqu* (variant: ^{d}*Ziqīqu*), the first being Sumerian, the second an Akkadian loan in Sumerian and the third Akkadian.

The name ^{d} M a . m ú (formerly misread as *^{d}*Maḫir;* a god whose name is written in the same way is mentioned in inscriptions of Assurnasirpal II, a god ^{d}*Ma-mu*, in *VAS VII* 27: 17 and *Gordon Smith-Coll. Tablets* no. 46: 13) means "God Dream."

The text *KAV* 63, a Middle Assyrian fragment of the great catalogue of divine names, refers to ^{d} M a . m ú in the group which enumerates the members of the entourage of the Sun-god. We find here: Shamash, Aja (his spouse), the gods P a p . n u n . n a , Bunene (the charioteer of the Sun-god), and our ^{d}M a . m ú (I: 34). The Neo-Assyrian fragment *K.* 2096 (published by *Craig ABRT* I, 56 ff., line 13) offers a parallel and lists, before a break, the following names: Shamash, Aja, Bunene and ^{d} M a . m ú . The Middle Assyrian version characterizes our god as DINGIR *š*[*u-na-ti*](?), i.e., as the "God of D[reams]."

More information is forthcoming from the famous list of names of gods preserved on one of the largest tablets in the library of Assurbanipal and called (after its *incipit*) AN = *Anum.* Here we have (*CT XXIV* 31 IV: 84 ff. [*K.* 4349] and *CT XXV* 26: 19 ff. [*K.* 4144]) the following two entries: ^{d} M a . m ú = DUMU.SAL. ^{d} U t u . k e $_4$ " M a m u = daughter of Shamash" and in the next line: ^{d}SI.SI.IG (variant: ^{d}SIG.SIG) = d u m u . ^{d} U t u . k e $_4$ " S i (g) s i g = son of Shamash." The change in sex of M a m u is not of great consequence; in these theological compilations, the priests, in their desire to list and organize all the minor divine figures of the pantheon, have repeatedly been guilty of such slight inconsistencies.

More interesting is the name of the brother of the "goddess" M a m u , because the Sumerian word s i (g) s i g corresponds in Akkadian (*cf.* simply *Deimel ŠL* 112/94c and 295/122f) to *zaqīqu*, meaning (as will be shown presently) "soft blowing wind, zephyr." And our Dream-Book begins with an invocation of the god of dreams reading: ^{d}*Ziqīqu ziqīqi* ^{d} M a m u *ilu ša* [*šunāte*(?)] "Divine *Ziqīqu*, zephyr, M a m u , God of [Dreams]," thus mentioning him by two of his names (*Ziqīqu* and M a m u). The splitting up of this deity into two figures of the pantheon: M a m u , daughter, and *Ziqīqu*, son of

Shamash, the Sun-god, is clearly a secondary development prompted by the desire of the learned priestly compiler to include every known name of the deity.

We shall revert presently to the most interesting designation of the Dream-god as *Za/iqīqu*, i.e., "zephyr."

The third name of our god is introduced in the same list (AN = *Anum*) some forty lines after M a m u and *Zaqīqu*, but still among the divine personnel belonging to the court of the Sun-god (*CT XXIV* 32: 110 f. [*K.* 4349]). Here we find, after an enumeration of servant gods and other minor figures of the divine household, the lines AN.ZA.QAR = d i n g i r . m a . m ú . d a . k e$_4$ "A n . z a q a r = the God of the Dream(s)," and AN.MIN.MÁŠ.GE$_6$ = ŠU "A n . z a q a r of the Dream(s) = same."

The same name recurs with an important variant of its spelling in one of those theological schemes in which various minor deities are speculated about by priests who connect them—in henotheistic but purely learned aspirations—with an important and well-known god of the pantheon. The pertinent text, a fragment DT 46 in the British Museum (published by Macmillan, *BA* 5: 655: 7), says: AN.ZAG.GAR.RA = ^{d}EN.LÍL *šá* MÁŠ.GE$_6$.[MEŠ] "A n . z a q a r = the Ellil with regard to dreams." The same equation appears in the series AN = *Anum* (*CT XXIV*: 39 rev. XI: 11 [*K.* 4349]) with Bêl replacing the name of the god Ellil (^{d}AN.ZA.QAR = ditto (i.e., ^{d}BE) *ša šu*(!)*-na-ti*). *Cf.* also the vocabulary i z i = *išātu* (A II: 15) which offers the equation AN.ZAG.GAR = AN *šá šu-na-ti*, i.e., "God of Dreams."

The spelling AN.ZAG.GAR.RA (for ^{d}AN.ZA.QAR) recurs among the equations of a Sumero-Akkadian vocabulary which organizes its content in semantic groups (e r i m . ḫ u š = *anantu*, Ist Tabl., *CT XVIII* 48 r. I 30) as AN.ZAG.GAR.RA = DINGIR *ša šu-ut-ti* the "God of the Dream." Within the group, this equation is preceded by the lines "nocturnal demon (preying upon) the traveler = *ḫallulaḫu*-demon," "nocturnal demon (roaming) the open spaces = same" and "god who has no abode which is taken care of" = "evil spirit (*ilu limnu*)." This revealing context bears out again the demonic nature of the Dream-god.

In a prayer addressed to the god Nusku (*KAR* 58: rev. 1–17), the grand-vizier(?) of the gods, who travels at night, our Dream-god is invoked (lines 9 ff.) in the following way: "Anzagara, Anzagara, who carries mankind around (*ba-bi-lu a-me-lu-ti*, *cf.* above p. 226), the messenger of princely Marduk!" But in another conjuration, directed to the Moon-god, Sin, the very same god (spelled AN.ZA.QAR), characterized as "God of Dreams" (DINGIR.[MEŠ] *ša* MÁŠ.GE$_6$.MEŠ), is mentioned, and the ritual which is appended to the prayer prescribes a fumigation-offering to be performed beside the bedside of the patient for this god, the *našpartu* (*cf.* presently) of the Moon-god (*King BMS* 1, plus *Scheil Sippar* 18: 10). A Neo-Assyrian letter, *Harper ABL* 450, likewise prescribes an incense-offering to ^{d}AN.ZA.QAR in connection with a ritual performed for Sin (lines 5–7) "a sacrificial table (provided) with beer and oil you shall put up (in the correct) ritual arrangement in front of (the image of) Sin (and) a censer (filled) with *burāšu*-cuttings you shall place beside the bed (of the patient) for the god AN.ZA.QAR!"

In these passages dealing with references to the Dream-god A n . z a q a r two notions concerning the etiology of the dream overlap but should not be permitted to confuse our investigation. On one hand, they reflect the "demonic" concept of the dream (as experience); hence the god is mentioned among various evil spirits lurking in the night; while on the other hand the god's function as transmitter of divine grace, that is, of messages originating with the luminary deities Shamash or Sin, is the reason for his being mentioned and worshiped in conjuration-prayers and pertinent rituals.

The designation of the Dream-god as *našpartu* is noteworthy; the word is to be translated here as "means of communication" in the sense of "messagery" or the like. The selection of this specific term demonstrates that the Akkadians were fully aware—on a certain level—of the fact that the very function of the dream is to convey messages, exactly as they considered the so-called *šipir maḫḫê*, i.e., the "performances of the ecstatics" (*Thompson Esarhaddon* pl. 3 II: 6) as such a *našpartu*. Through madness, the deity reveals his will exactly as he does by means of dreams.

The meanings and implications of the three names used in theological lists and religious texts for the Mesopotamian Dream-god pose some of the most difficult philological problems this investigation has had to cope with. The designation ^{d} M a m u is, of course, quite to the point: the name means simply "God Dream"; the designations A n . z a q a r and *Za/iqīqu* are, however, not that transparent.

We will turn first to ^{d}*Zaqīqu*, although the interpretation to be offered here can only be considered a possibility. Etymologically, *zaqīqu* is derived from the root *z.ụ.q* which also yields the verb *zâqu* and the noun *zîqu*. *Zâqu* refers clearly to the blowing of the wind; in Assyrian royal inscriptions it is mostly used to describe the destructive force of the onrushing storm; sometimes, however, the implication is that of a softly blowing or of a gentle, cooling breeze (*zaqīqu* is morphologically a diminutive formation). It also denotes the blowing of the sweet, divine breath which is expected and described in many prayers as an expression of grace. "May your sweet breath (literally: wind) blow upon me (*li-zi-qam-ma*)" (Langdon, *OECT VI* pl. XIII *K.* 3515: rev. 11), we read in such texts (*cf.* also IV *R* 54 no. 1: rev. 2, *RT* **24**: 104: 11, *King BMS* 18: rev. 15), and we know of small figurines of deities represented as holding their hands

in front of their mouth so as to direct that blowing of the breath of grace towards the worshiper (E. Unger in *Forschungen und Fortschritte* **2**: 270 f.). The wafting of the sweet smell of the cedar-rafters to those who entered the new palace of Sargon II is likewise described by *zâqu* (Thureau-Dangin, *TCL III* 246: *e-ri-šu* DUG_3 . . . *i-za-qa*). And the same king reports with pride that he had louvers cut into the walls—called *bâb zi-i-qi* "ventilation-opening"—to enjoy (*ana multa'tia*) the coolness of a breeze.

More important is a group of references in which the verb *zâqu* is used to refer to the movement of swiftly attacking demons who, at night, use even the smallest opening of a room to penetrate to a sleeping or sick person. These demons "slip through the door like snakes, blow (*i-ziq-qu*) through the opening made by the pivot (of the door) like wind" (*CT XVI* 9 II: 21–23). In vain people attempt to protect themselves: "they drift (*i-ziq-qu*) through (holes in) the threshold and the opening of the pivot" (*CT XVII* 35: 56–57), or through other chance gaps and crevices.

We have quoted these passages because they serve as a welcome illustration of the following important verse of a hymn to the god Nergal, a chthonic deity. The text IV *R* 24 no. 1 (line 49) describes the god in the following terms: ". . . whose strength is overwhelming, like a dream (*ki-ma šu-ut-ti ina ṣir-ri l*[*a* x y], Sumerian: m a . m ú . g i m z a . r a n u . m u . [u n . g i $_4$]) he cannot [be stopped] (even) at the opening made by the pivot (of a door)!" One can hardly fail to be immediately reminded of that famous description from the fourth book of the *Odyssey* dealing with the appearance of the dream-*eidolon* of Iphthime in the dream of Penelope: the dream-demon "crept into her bedroom by the strap that worked the bolt" (verse 802) and left again by slipping "past the bolt by the jamb of the door and was lost in the wind outside" (verse 838 f.). Equally important is *Odyssey* 6: 19 f., according to which Athena, when appearing in a dream to Nausicaa, "swept through (the closed door) like a breath of air"; in fact the comparison of the nature of the divine apparition with a "breath of wind (*pneuma*)" will have to be taken up presently.

In this context, the description of the onrushing provoked dreams in the Epic of Gilgamesh (§8, no. 5) should be mentioned because they are likened there (*cf.* 115) in a unique metaphor to *šarbu* the "cool wind" which passed by (*etēqu*) Gilgamesh (*cf.* also below p. 235). The corresponding second noun of the *parallelismus membrorum* is unfortunately lost in a break (but *cf.* above p. 216).

The concept of the demonic nature of the dream underlies all these passages. Swiftly moving through the night, they "blow in" through minute openings to visit the sleeper. And the Akkadian uses a specific verb—*zâqu* (in Sumerian: r i and z a . l a . a ḫ)—to refer to that irresistible drifting of dream-demons conceived as movements of air. The same verb is used to describe the attacks of other demons, e.g., when the *asakku*-demon is said to assail man like a wind (*ki-ma šá-a-ri i-ziq-ma CT XVII* 10: 46), or a disease affecting the eyes is said to blow down from heaven (*ina šá-me-e šá-a-ru i-zi-qam-ma Thompson AMT* 11, 1: 12).

All this sheds light on the meaning of the name of the Dream-god *Zaqīqu* (*Ziqīqu*). This designation refers clearly to some light movement of the air describing both the demonic nature of the Dream-god and his manner of irresistible attack.

The semantics of the word itself range from "storm" to "evil spirit" and even to "nothingness." The last nuance, a typical Semitic semantic development, from "wind" to "nothingness," is paralleled in Akkadian by *šâru* "wind" and in Hebrew by, e.g., *hebel*. The term *zaqīqu* is frequently used in the idiomatic phrases *ana zaqīqi manû* or *ana zaqīqi turru/târu* which mean "to consider as, become, turn into 'wind,' i.e., nothingness." A list of synonyms (*cf.* von Soden *ZA* **43**: 244: 281) uses the phrase *ana zaqīqi turru* to explain *qummumu*, i.e., "to crush," and thus suggests the translation "to annihilate." The parallel idiom *ana šâri turru* (literally: "to change into wind") illustrates that the basic meaning of our word *zaqīqu* is actually "wind" but with the connotation of a wind of a special kind comparable in many respects to Hebrew *ruaḥ* and Greek *pneuma*. And this connotation has suggested and favored the semantic development which is here our concern.

The meaning "spirit" or "demon" for *zaqīqu* is attested in the following passage: "the imprisoned evil spirits (Akkadian: *ilu*, Sumerian: d i n g i r) have come out of the grave, the evil *zaqīqu*s have come out of the grave" (*CT XVII* 37: 1 ff.). Here, *zaqīqu* corresponds to *ilu* (normally "god"), both being qualified as *limnu*, i.e., "evil," so that the comparison with Greek *daimon* suggests itself readily.

The *zaqīqu*-demons are typically described as restless and shifting, "sweeping to and fro" (*muttašrabbiṭu*) (e.g., *CT XVI* 15 V: 40); in their roamings they populate the desert, that uncanny region full of dangerous spirits; *cf. Haupt ASKT* 18: 3, 21: rev. 8, *CT XVII* 29: 5–6, etc.

At this juncture a reference important for *zaqīqu* has to be discussed. In the famous scene from the last tablet of the Epic of Gilgamesh, the ghost (*utukku*) of his friend, Enkidu, comes forth from the netherworld "out of a hole (in the ground) like a *zaqīqu*" (*cf.* Thompson, *Epic of Gilgamesh* XII: 84). The fact that the nature of a ghost and that of his appearance is described with the very same word applied elsewhere to dreams (to be exact, to the "God of Dreams") is paralleled in the Homeric epics. There, in the *Odyssey* 4: 810 (dream of Penelope), and in the *Iliad* 4: 65 ff. (Patroclus appearing to Achilles)—and also, corresponding instances, *Odyssey* 19: 562 and 10: 521, etc.—the same terminology is used to describe dream-demons and the souls (*psyche*) of the departed. The

airy nature of these "beings" is repeatedly stressed in Greek and Latin texts; *cf.* especially Virgil, *Aeneid* 6:701, for an illustrative quotation, "even as light winds and most like a winged dream" (*par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno*), and also the pertinent passages quoted in Hundt, *op. cit.* 23, n. 52, 66, n. 81–82. As a means of expressing the *mysterium tremendum*, we find in I Kings 19:12 the well-known reference to the "still small voice" (*cf.* also Job 4:12) as an analogous attempt to cast a unique experience in terms which are—at least superficially—rational.

We shall revert presently (*cf.* below p. 236) to the observation that the dreams and the souls of the dead are referred to with the same term.

Two further nuances of the word *zaqīqu* have some bearing on this discussion, although the ultimate implications remain obscure in both cases. When Assurbanipal prayed to the god Nabû (*Craig ABRT* I 5 f.: 23), "a *zaqīqu* answered from the presence of Nabû, his master" with an utterance of comfort, styled as the speech of a deity in a theophany. The *zaqīqu* is here certainly not a "dream" (F. R. Kraus in *ZA* **43**: 88), but the carrier of the divine message, be this the "breath" of the deity (*cf.* Hebrew *ruaḥ*, especially in the passage Job 4:15 f.) or a still less material emanation of the god which was hypostatized as a *zaqīqu*. In a phrase of the poem *Ludlul-bêl-nêmeqi* (II: 8) we find another reference for this use of our term. The princely sufferer complains that he is without contact with the deity, and he enumerates his various attempts to achieve such a communication. Here he mentions *zaqīqu* in a context which is still a crux: "To the *zaqīqu* I prayed (text has: *a-bal-ma*) but he did not instruct me!" Here, the word obviously refers to some specific avenue of communication with the god, an avenue which failed the unfortunate. It is possible, though rather unlikely, that *zaqīqu* designates here messages conveyed in dreams; one could also think of what we are used to term glibly "inspiration."

There are three more extremely difficult occurrences of the word *zaqīqu* which originate in late and learned texts where it is used to describe what was considered a specific and characteristic quality of man—as against divine beings. One of them (*K.* 4173 I: 1, *Kraus Physiognomatik* no. 54 and *ZA* **43**: 84) speaks in a broken context of the *zaqīqu* of mankind which enables the person who is endowed with it to reach the rank of the ruler of the gods (*ellilūtu*, i.e., rank of the god Ellil). The following, parallel, phrase mentions wisdom-sayings, the knowledge and understanding of which qualify a person to act as ruler and king. The possibility that *zaqīqu* refers here again to what one might call "inspiration" cannot be excluded.

Still more difficult is, secondly, the passage in the text *KAR* 307. This tablet contains cosmological speculations of the most esoteric nature: corresponding to a division of the celestial realm into three planes; the "earth," or better, the lower region of the cosmos, is equally divided into three such strata. These are: a lowermost section in which the chthonic deities, the so-called Anunnaki, rule; a middle section in which Ea, the god of the watery depth, has his abode (text: *šûšub*); and, finally, the uppermost layer, our earth, on which mankind is "placed in cattle-folds" (*šurbuṣ*). And mankind is here referred to by the unique designation *ziqīqu*-NAM.LÚ.U$_x$.LU, i.e., "*ziqīqu*-man," a term meant to allude, in a very sophisticated and learned way, to some special characteristic of the beings who populate the earth, a characteristic important enough to deserve mention in a cosmological digression. The word may refer in this context to the ephemeral nature of man's life on earth (*Tallqvist Götterepitheta* 11, thinks so and translates correspondingly *Windhauch-Menschen*), but it might have been used on account of certain implications which have to do with the roving, restless, and always futile activities of mankind. Again, the word might have been coined as an *epitheton ornans*, alluding to man—to use gnostic terms—as "pneumatic" in his aspirations. We will, however, most likely never know what *ziqīqu-amēlūtu* was intended to express in this context.

Lastly, there is a passage in a bilingual hymn to Shamash, the Sun-god, which offers us the third occurrence of *ziqīqu* in a difficult context. Two lines forming a distich (V *R* 50 i: 25–26) describe the reaction of mankind to the sight of the rising sun: *mim-ma šá ina lìb-bi ba-(áš)-šu-ú iq-qa-bu-ú* "whatever was kept secret is (now) being uttered, sìg.ga nigin.nam.lú.u$_x$.lu.ke$_4$ šu.a(!).ba(?).[x.y]. gi$_4$.gi$_4$ = *zi-qi-qa/qí šá nap-har ni-ši* [*i-pa-a*]*l-ka* the *ziqīqu* of all mankind answers you!" Although these verses do not shed any more light on the difficult term *za/iqīqu*, they contribute to create the impression that some such concept as "spirit" (German: *Geist*) or the like is required by the quoted context as well as by the nature of the deified *Za/iqīqu*, the "God of Dreams."

Terminating our discussion of the background of that strange designation of the god of dreams, their ruler and dispenser, as *Za/iqīqu*, we have to conclude—resignedly—that the word itself refers primarily, however inadequately, to the uncanny, swift, and dangerous nature of the (dream-)demons (and ghosts), their non-physical, insubstantial character, a pathetic attempt to approximate the ineffable by means of rational terms. The complex secondary implications of the term remain, unfortunately, outside our ken.

One question still must be asked: where do the dream-demons and their god abide? While demons, according to Mesopotamian beliefs, are mostly considered as inhabiting the desert, ruins, and other desolate locations, the dream-demons could well have been thought of as having their domicile in a more adequate and definite abode, inasmuch as their ruler had divine rank. Here, however, we leave the orbit of theology

and even cosmology and enter that of folklore. The popular stories dealing with the dwelling place of dreams which have found their way into classical literature can, unfortunately, not be paralleled from cuneiform sources. They have been cast into solemn verses by Homer, Virgil, and other poets, and are quite explicit about the "tribe" or "people" of dreams, locating them in the vicinity of the entrance to the netherworld, where, in the westernmost region of the earth, there is the Gate of the Sun through which the souls of the departed travel to their destination (*Odyssey* 24: 11 f.). Then we know the famous verses describing the Gate of Dreams (*Odyssey* 19: 562 ff. = *Aeneid* 6: 282 f.; also *Odyssey* 4: 808 f.) from which, at night, the dreams swarm out, black-winged and swift, to visit mankind. Virgil, drawing most likely upon old and popular beliefs, locates the "false" dreams in the forecourt of the entrance to Hades (*in faucibus Orci*) where they cling, like bats (*cf.* for this simile *Odyssey* 24: 6, and Messer, *op. cit.* 43, n. 184), under the leaves of a mythological tree: "In the midst of it an elm, shadowy and vast, spreads her boughs and aged arms, the home which, men say, false Dreams hold here and there, clinging under every leaf" (6: 282–284, translation of H. R. Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library).

Are we then allowed to assume that the Mesopotamian dream-demons and their ruler, be he called M a m u , *Zaqīqu* or A n . z a q a r , are likewise thought to inhabit the netherworld? There are, undoubtedly, certain indications pointing in that very direction. Such are the passage which likens the appearing ghost of Enkidu (*cf.* above p. 234) to a *zaqīqu*, or the fact that Gilgamesh had to dig a trench to conjure up dreams (§8, no. 5) exactly as Odysseus dug his pit (*bothnos*) (*Odyssey* 11: 23 ff.); *cf.* above p. 216. One has, furthermore, to consider the belief that ghosts and evil spirits were as a rule thought of as inhabiting the realm of the dead and to take into account the appearance of the deceased in dreams which necessarily fosters notions linking dreams and the netherworld. Though there exists an intimate relationship in the classical world between death and sleep and dream which favors the locating of dreams in that region such a relationship is not in harmony with the Mesopotamian concept of death. The classical attitude has found its expression in Greek mythology (*cf.* Hesiod, *Theogony* 211 f., 756 f., and many other authors; *cf.* Hundt, *op. cit.*, 76, n. 116), speaking of "Night" as the mother of "Dream," but also in the concept of the "sleep of death" (*cf.* simply M. B. Ogle, *Memoires, Amer. Academy Rome* **11**: 81–117). The latter are, however, clearly divorced in Mesopotamia, while Palestine (the Old Testament) shows definite traces of the relationship between "sleep" and "death." This relationship seems also to have existed in Egypt with regard to which A. de Buck (*Voorazia-tisch Egyptisch Gezelschaap Ex Oriente Lux mededee-lingen en verhandelingen* **4**: 1 ff., 1939) asserts that there is evidence of a native Egyptian concept of sleep according to which the soul leaves the sleeping body to travel to the primeval, subterranean ocean through which the Sun-Bark journeys during the night, to be refreshed there and rejuvenated. And A. Volten, *op. cit.*, 45 ff. is, probably too optimistically, inclined to presume that dreams were not only experienced during such nocturnal wanderings of the soul, but that they were also domiciled in this subterranean realm. The textual evidence for this "dream-theory" is, however, extremely slim and can hardly be considered as proving that the Egyptians thought of dreams as being located in the netherworld.

Still, the nightly journeys of the sleeper's soul (*cf.*, e.g., R. Meyer, *Hellenistisches in der rabbinischen Anthropologie, rabbinische Vorstellungen vom Werden des Menschen* 51, n. 1, p. 87 Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1937, for Talmudic references), which seem to us to be rather a crude translation of certain aspects of the dream-experience on an animistic level, can well serve to express one of the answers of the philosopher to the eternal question of the metaphysical background of the mantic dream (*cf.* below p. 237).

We have yet to deal with another name of the Mesopotamian Dream-god: (d)AN.ZA.QAR or AN. ZAG.GAR.(RA). This Sumerian word (as well as its Akkadian equivalent: *dimtu*) denotes a tower, a signal-post, even a pillar. It is, in fact, a loan from an old Akkadian word which is not attested in that language but can be connected with two possible roots: *z.k.r* "(to be) male" and *z.k.r.* "to remember." And both can be made, rather easily, to yield a not too implausible etymology: A n . z a q a r might have been a *maṣṣeba*—to use a Biblical term—or a stonepile (Greek: *herma*(*x*)), and also a memorial pillar or the like. The use of the determinative d i n g i r characterizes the word as a numinous term.

But why is the "God Pillar" the god of dreams? We can hardly be tempted to think of the Greek god, Hermes, the personified *hermax* (*cf.* L. Deroy, "La sandale ailée et l'origine hittite du dieu Hermes," Athenaeum, NS **30**: 59–84, 1952) i.e., pile of stones, who happens to be likewise the dispenser of sleep (*Iliad* 24: 343, 445; *Odyssey* 5, 47) and the leader of the host of dreams (*oneiropompos*). Or should one assume that there existed, in the mythical geography (*Jenseitsgeographie*) of Mesopotamia, a pillar, or tower, or stone pile in which the god of dreams and his minions housed as did the *somnia vana* of Virgil in the widely branched and densely leaved elm tree? Since no Mesopotamian poet has as yet told us either a story of the charming abstrusity of Queen Mab's account of dreams and their activities, or permitted himself to allude to popular concepts, we have to leave these questions open.

It is tempting, however, to speculate as to whether the Talmudic concept of a supernatural dispenser of

dreams, the *bal ḥalom* (*cf.*, e.g., *Berakoth* 10*b*, *Sanhedrin* 30*a*), reflects in any way the Mesopotamian tradition of a Dream-god. The very fact that the Palestinian version of the Talmud does not mention this angelic figure lends some weight to this theory. The belief in the existence of a ruler of dreams who could be induced by prayers or magic to provoke certain dreams in certain individuals seems to have been characteristic of the Talmudic concept of the dream. It explains why the Talmud tells anecdotes (*Berakoth* 56*a*) of foreign princes asking certain rabbis to predict the contents of their dreams. Perhaps we have here the background of that famous epigram of Juvenal (*Satires* VI: 546–547) concerning the Jews of Rome who sold their customers for little money the kind of dreams they wanted:

aere minuto
Qualiacumque voles Iudaei somnia vendunt.

Clearly, both parties believed in the possibility that a "dispenser of dreams" could be induced in some way to deliver specific dream-contents at a specified time to specified persons.

With this study of the various names under which the Mesopotamian Dream-god was known we have terminated our investigation of the demonic aspect of the dream-experience as against the "theological" aspect—if one is allowed to refer thus to those dreams which convey a divine message. The mantic aspect of the dream will be discussed in the next and last section.

7. MANTIC DREAMS

It is of the very nature of the dream-experience that its contents call for exegesis, and only a few and very specific dreams can dispense with all interpretative process. Although there are traces in the literatures of the ancient Near East of the notion that dreams could be caused or conditioned by the state of mind and body of the dreaming person (*cf.* above p. 227), all dream-exegesis is based upon the assumption that dream-contents are of supernatural origin and, normally, of prognostic import. Certain civilizations tend, however, to restrict or to qualify the reliability of predictions derived from dreams.

We shall presently discuss these restrictions as far as our source material offers pertinent information (*cf.* also p. 240), but first some attention should be given to those circumstances which exercised decisive influence on the history of dream-interpretation and, consequently, have conditioned the importance granted to the mantic implications of dream-contents.

There are two turning-points in this development: that caused by the impact of the Greek mind on the etiology of the dream and the principles of its interpretation; and that by the modern psychological—in fact, psychoanalytical—approach to the entire problem.

We cannot follow here the rather diversified attitudes taken by the different philosophical schools of Greece with regard to the mantic import of dreams. Only rarely, however, did they dare to deny the prognostic character of certain dream-contents; even Aristotle who represents the rationalistic attitude to the problem cannot refrain from reporting a dream-incident (*cf.* Cicero, *De divinatione* 1: 25) to show that dreams do come true and that their predictions can be substantiated by subsequent events. The non-rationalistic Greek attitude toward dreams exercised a more incisive influence, reaching as far as the Islamic Near East. This development coincided with the rising tide of belief in the supernatural origin of dreams caused by the increasing influence of Oriental concepts and thought patterns in the post-classical period of Greece.

The basic tenet that dreams foretell the future is linked either with a specific soul-concept or a specific philosophical world-view. In the first instance, the human soul is considered endowed with certain precognitive qualities released in sleep (or under other conditions); in the second, the wandering soul of the sleeper is permitted to observe in the transcendent realm of "ideas" his own fate before it materializes in time and space. For the complex interaction of Greek (Platonic) and genuine Oriental concepts (predestination, etc.), their philosophical and mystical implications, reference should be made here to Fritz Meier, "Die Welt der Urbilder bei Ali Hamdani (+1385)" in *Eranos-Jahrbuch* **18**: 115 ff.

Against the background of the dream as "theological" reality in the ancient Near East and as "metaphysical" reality in the new Near East which arose under the impact of Greece, we turn to the most recent approach to the dream as experience, or—to speak in our terms—the dream as "psychological" reality.

Only within our generation more than two millennia of fruitless speculation and discussion in which, relatively recently, the natural sciences have participated gingerly and with marked uneasiness, seem to have come to a close. The psychoanalytic approach has demonstrated convincingly that the dream-content reveals, in spite of all its inherent distortions and complex substitutions, the past rather than the future, conditioned as it is by events and developments which, having occurred during most of the lifetime of the individual, are still active and potent when the dream is experienced as well as when it is reported.

It should, however, be noted that neither of these two rather revolutionary changes in the development of dream-interpretation have succeeded in replacing completely the earlier approaches; these have merely been relegated to lower intellectual levels, creating thus a curious stratification in contemporaneous atti-

tudes towards dreams which is liable to puzzle future historians of ideas.

We have to revert here to the topic of the present section, the mantic implications of dreams in the ancient Near East.

In a world-view according to which incidents of all descriptions, or actions and other occurrences materialize within the orbit of the human ken not only through specific and natural causes but also expressly for the benefit of the observer, the physiological status of that person remains without importance. Whether he be asleep, in an enthusiastic frenzy or waking, these "signs" convey their meaning to the person who is intelligent enough to notice them (as being meaningful) and trained to understand them. Their "meaning," i.e., the content of their "message," can be grasped either directly, which is, in fact, on the basis of subconscious associations, or empirically. The latter knowledge can again either be personally acquired through individually observed incidents or be based on the experiences of past generations of observers who have systematically collected for future reference actual sequences of ominous happenings and subsequent events.

The ambit within which such "signs," which by no means have to differ from normality or from the natural course of events, can appear reaches from the starry sky to the most intimate and trivial actions of man, from the behavior of lions and eagles to the movements of ants on a wall, from earthquakes and rivers carrying blood and other strange substances to the shape of a puddle in front of one's door. Only relatively few of these happenings originate within the corporal frame of man or in immediate relationship to him: his bodily features, his habits of speaking, the ringing of his ears, his sleeping habits, even the date of his birth. Equally important are the persons he meets in the street, the chance utterances of others which he happens to overhear (*cf.* above p. 211), and—exactly on the same level of relevance and meaningfulness—his dreams.

Although the ominous implications of actions and happenings occurring in dreams are thus not considered basically different from those of other signs manifesting themselves within or around man, the dream maintains a special position. This is due to the fact that dreams are thought to be an avenue of direct communication with the deity which as such is often considered to have the same theological standing as waking visions or the various forms of ecstasis. This appeal of omina offered in dreams maintained its force even after astrology began its rise to importance and relegated nearly all other types of omina to the lower levels of the intellectual and social strata.

It is, however, rather curious to observe that in omen-conscious and portent-ridden Mesopotamia dream-omina never reached the popularity of the other methods of divination, based on *auguria oblativa*, while in Egypt—as far as the accidents of text survival allow us to draw conclusions—dream-omina were the only type of omina which were systematically recorded and collected, and that already as far back as the first half of the second millennium B.C. Such a discrepancy is difficult to understand and to explain. It is, in fact, corroborated by the aversion of the Assyrian kings to recording their own dream-experiences in historical inscriptions (*cf.* above p. 199) or to having dream interpreters at their courts, teeming as they were with divination-experts of all kinds. In Egypt, however, the "House of Life" seems to have been the seat of the oneirocritics especially concerned with the dream-experiences of the Pharaoh (*cf.* Volten, *op. cit.*, 17 ff.).

In one instance, however, a direct link between Egyptian and Assyrian interest in the interpretation of dreams can be observed.

We have in the British Museum tablet published as no. 851 by C. H. W. Johns, in *Johns ADD*, a document which shows that Egyptian interpreters of dreams were consulted at the Assyrian court during the period of or before Assurbanipal. The tablet contains five groups of personal names, each with a summary and a reference to the profession of the persons mentioned. All five groups are qualified as priestly experts in the following sequence: *mašmāšu* "conjuration-priests," *bārû* "diviners," special scribes (text damaged: A.BA[ ].MEŠ), *kalû* "exorcists" and *dāgil iṣṣuri* "augurs." Then follow two groups of foreign, obviously Egyptian names; the first three persons are said to be *ḫar-di-bi*, and as many are described as "Egyptian scribes" (A.BA.MEŠ *mu-ṣur-a-a*). The *ḫardibi* are to be considered as corresponding to the Egyptian designation *ḫr tp* which—as has been shown recently by A. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* 1: 56, London, Oxford University Press, 1947 (*cf.* also N. H. Stricker, *Acta Orientalia* 15: 6 f. and 20)—characterizes these priests as interpreters of dreams. The very same professionals appear also in a historical fragment in which we read about the booty and the prisoners taken by Esarhaddon from Egypt when this country was first conquered by the Assyrians. Among such professionals as veterinarians, scribes, cartwrights and shipwrights, singers, etc., we find in this text (*cf. ANET*, 293 for my translation) also the *ḫar-di-*[*bi*], the only instance of an Egyptian professional name in this list. The very same Egyptian word appears also in the Old Testament as a technical term: *ḫarṭum*, denoting the interpreter of dreams.

This situation reflects not only the lack of importance of oneiromantic divination in Assyria, where the scribes apparently could not even find a corresponding native term for this profession, but it demonstrates also that in Assyria as well as in Palestine, through many centuries, the interpreting of dreams was considered the highest and the typical achievement of Egyptian divination-techniques, exactly as, later, astrology was internationally recognized as the Chal-

dean art. In Assyria proper, the mantic importance of dreams was recognized to a certain extent but the techniques and the qualifications of the native oneirocritics were not considered adequate. Interpreters of dreams had to come from Egypt to be acceptable.

The Greeks likewise preferred to derive the art of interpreting dreams from some distant country. Telmessos in Caria—which was also the home town of the oneirocritic (Aristandros) who accompanied Alexander the Great—was famous as a city where all kinds of divination techniques were invented (Cicero, *De divinatione* 1 : 41 and various *heuremata*-catalogues). Whether this region of Southwestern Asia Minor acted in any way as passage-point for the diffusion of Asiatic divination methods (from the Hittite centers of learning) to Ionic Greece is an important problem which, however, falls outside the scope of this book.

In contrast with Assyria of the Sargonide period (seventh century B.C.), Babylonian interpreters of dreams were apparently highly specialized, if one is to rely upon a passage in the Book of Daniel (1 : 17) where Daniel is described as "understanding all (kinds of) visions and dreams."

All this is different in Egypt. Here, a passage of the late Papyrus Insinger gives full and unconditioned credit to the reliability of dreams: "He (the god) has created remedies to cure disease, wine to cure sorrow, and he has created dreams to guide him who experiences them—if he is blind (i.e., if he cannot see his way through life)."

There is a further point to be made here with regard to the prognosticating quality attached to dreams. Akkadian omen-literature shows a very clear dichotomy in the nature and the scope of the predictions contained in omina. The apodoses (i.e., prognostics) fall into two distinct groups: into public and private predictions. The former concern king and country, the latter private persons only. Astrological omina—and these include meteorological and seismic phenomena—as well as teratoscopic omina are public in their predictions, be they *auguria oblativa* (astrology) or *impetrativa* (hepatoscopy, etc.) (*cf.* p. 224 for these terms). The success and the downfall of kings and armies, the harvest and its ever-present enemies, national calamities of all descriptions, peace and war, foreign and domestic conflicts are the steadily recurring topics dealt with in such omina. An entirely different type of prognostication is derived from "ominous" encounters at home, in the streets, etc., with other people, with animals, ghosts, etc., i.e., from occurrences in everyday life; there the predictions all refer to the gamut between success and failure within the reach of the expectations of a private person of that period: long life, luck, progeny and riches, good standing in society, and their opposites.

All dream-omina belong to the latter type; a lone exception is perhaps only apparent: a broken tablet consisting of three joint fragments seems to contain dreams experienced by the king. A close investigation, however, shows (*cf.* for details p. 294) that the tablet contained only very short apodoses if any at all, the break preventing us from ascertaining this important feature. It is possible that this tablet indicated the correct kind of cathartic ritual to be performed to remove the contamination caused by certain specified dream-contents (*cf.* for an enumeration of such dreams experienced by private persons p. 228). If this proves correct the tablet could be taken as an indication that the dreams of the Assyrian kings were not considered mantic, but were thought only to reflect his individual and momentary cultic standing; in other words, royal dreams—other than "message" dreams—are only symptomatic and are to be counteracted by appropriate cathartic practices.

The Mesopotamian attitude towards ominous phenomena is ambiguous in a very characteristic way: they are considered warnings issued by the gods to those who observe and understand them. The gods release these "signs" out of their concern for king, country, city, or individual. In case the omina predict misfortunes, wars, or other emergencies, man can protect himself by means of those apotropaic rituals which are required by the specific circumstances. These rituals are considered potent enough to obviate all evil consequences of the "signs." It should be stressed that in such instances divine forewarning and apotropaic counter-measures are both enacted beyond the level of religious thought on which the relation between the individual and his "history" (i.e., the incidents which befall him during his life) are based upon moral considerations, where the notions of divine grace and human piety are known and accepted, where prayers and promises link man to his deity.

This interplay of "signs" and protective rituals clashes not only with the concept of individual religious and moral responsibility but likewise with that of fate which is so characteristic of Mesopotamian religiosity. Where the "history" of the individual is often considered only the expression or realization of his "nature," i.e., of the apportioned share of luck or misfortune, there is—so we are inclined to think—room neither for omina nor for preventive magic. Yet, Mesopotamian man did not feel this dilemma, and this very attitude of his has to be taken as a characteristic expression of his world-view. The Old Testament, on the other hand, places the unshakable will of the Lord completely above the desperate attempts of the mantics to foresee the course that events are to take. Triumphantly Isaiah (47 : 13) challenges them: "Let now the astrologers, the stargazers, the monthly prognosticators stand up and save thee from these things that come upon you!" And—to turn again to Greece—Solon (*Fragments* 31) views the same conflict from a standpoint yielding a perspective which differs from that of the Bible and has, at the same time,

no correspondence in cuneiform texts either: "What once has been decided by fate, neither an omen nor a sacrifice can conjure."

As to the mantic implications of dreams, we have to discuss at this point the above-mentioned restrictions (*cf.* p. 237). The specific nature of the dream-experience, its subjectivity which places it beyond the possibility of control, entails certain limitations and qualifications. Of these we have two categories: those which concern the dreaming person and those which refer to the time (and the place) of the experience. In both instances, however, the dream-content has first to be accepted as fraught with meaning; that is, a primary screening-out process has to discard all those dreams which are considered devoid of any mantic import. "Stranger, verily dreams are hard, and hard to be discerned; nor are all things therein fulfilled for men" (*Odyssey* 19: 560 f.).

It should be stressed that this basic censorship is not only applied to dreams but to all kinds of ominous events. The criteria which establish the acceptability of such a "sign" cannot be ascertained—they most likely were completely irrational; the experience and intelligence of the person who observed the sign, the connotations of the locality and of the timing and—above all—the psychological readiness to see and to accept the omen are essential prerequisites. Again we may quote a verse from the *Odyssey* (2: 182): "Howbeit there be many birds that fly to and fro under the sun's rays, but all are not birds of fate."

No explicit statements are forthcoming from the cuneiform material concerning the effect which the sex of the dreamer could have on the mantic value of his dream. We have already observed (*cf.* p. 190) that "message" dreams have been, in the ancient Near East, the privilege of the male sex, with the Hittite texts offering an important exception (*cf.* p. 197). Still, these dreams are not mantic in our sense of this term. As to social position, we will likewise look in vain for such a concise statement as that in the *Iliad* (2: 80 f.) which runs: "had it been any other Achaian who told of this dream we should have called it a lie and we might rather have turned from it. Now, he who claims to be the best of the Achaians has seen it. . . ." A person's social position in Mesopotamia has no effect upon the validity or the interpretation of his dreams.

This statement should be emphasized because, recently, A. Volten, *op. cit.*, has asserted that the Assyrian Dream-Book assigns to the same dream-content different prognostications according to the social status of the dreaming person. He quotes in support of this assertion some passages from the omen texts published by A. Boissier in *Boissier Choix de textes* **2**, which we present on p. 287 of the second part. It is quite correct that this is the case in the passages mentioned, but it is not admissible to construe these omina as illustrating a principle of Mesopotamian oneiromancy. Such differentiations can be found throughout the entire cuneiform omen-literature (for details *cf.* n. 39) and are by no means restricted to the Dream-Book. Consequently, the argument that Mesopotamian oneiromancy influenced Artemidorus (and his Oriental and Western followers) who stressed the import of the social status is not valid, at least not if based on this specific point.

Neither is evidence known, so far, from Mesopotamian sources for the notion that the nature and mantic quality of one's dreams are conditioned by the psychosomatic (constitutional) type to which the individual belongs, although a somewhat primitive "typology" of this kind seems to be attested in late literary texts (*cf.* my remarks in *Orientalia* NS **17**: 25 n. 4, 19: 129 note *). This very notion was held in the XIIth Dynasty Egyptian (Hieratic) dream-book (*cf.* for details below pp. 234 f.) and re-appeared in the opus of the famous Greek oneirocritic, Artemidorus—after more than one and a half millennia—to spread from this source of diffusion to a variety of similar books in Greek, Latin, Arabic, and Persian.

As to specific and supernatural qualifications which make certain persons more liable to receive mantic dreams either *per se* (*cf.* above p. 224 for a pertinent reference) or under certain circumstances (*cf.* here what has been said on pp. 222 f. concerning the Greek *oneiropolos*), we have to stress again the lack of explicit pertinent information in the material coming from cuneiform sources. The very few cases of royal and priestly incubation-dreams do not fall, of course, under our present concern; dreams received under such conditions and by these persons are basically theophanies in the form of dreams and not mantic in the sense of this discussion.

For completeness' sake rather than because we intend to draw far-reaching conclusions from an isolated reference, the passage Gen. 37: 19 should be mentioned. The brothers of Joseph refer to him there mockingly as "the master of dreams," which might have been the designation of a person who habitually (perhaps owing to some kind of "shamanistic" disposition) receives dream-revelations. *Cf.* likewise the "dreamer of dreams" mentioned in Deut. 13: 3 and "dreamer" in Jer. 27: 9, and also above pp. 222 f. for *oneiropolos*.

The timing of the dream seems to have been considered of importance in certain classical sources. There exists a number of references illustrating the belief that the sleep before dawn was more apt to yield veridical dreams than that during any other time of the night. The pertinent evidence has been extensively discussed by J. B. Stearns (*op. cit.*, 51 ff.) in a chapter entitled: *Post mediam noctem visus cum somnia vera*, from Horace, *Satirae* 1.10.33. Among the dream-reports of the ancient Near East, there exists only one instance (§8, no. 14) which seems to indicate the time of the experience, that is, in this

case, the early hours of the morning. The fact that the third of the three dreams of Gilgamesh (§8, no. 5) is expressly said to have occurred in the "middle" watch of the night, cannot be adduced here as evidence. This was a sought, a magically provoked, dream; no mantic implications can be derived from the time at which it took place. Most of the Akkadian dream-reports stress with the phrase *ina šat mûši* only that the dream was experienced "during the night." There seems to be no valid indication that the ancient Near East (*cf.* however the Talmud, *Berakoth* 55*b*) knew of that belief of the classical world concerning the timing of dreams. And Stearns has shown that it was based on popular superstitions rather than being a part of the "dream-pattern." Still, this idea has appealed to later generations and has become part of the classical tradition of dream-stories in early European literature; *cf.* Dante, *Inferno* 26: 7, *presso al mattin del ver si sogna*. For repercussions of this belief in the dream-books of Islam, *cf.* N. Bland, "On the Muhammedan Science of Tâbir, or Interpretation of Dreams," *JRAS* **16**: 129, 1856.

Inevitably, the growing impact of astrological speculations upon Greek divination found its expression in certain restrictions which the hour of the dream, the days of the month, i.e., the phases of the moon, were beginning to exercise on the validity of the dream-prognostics. Especially the phases of the moon are thought to qualify dreams in dream-books coming from the Byzantium of the first half of the first millennium A.D. Such astrologically conditioned dreams are also observed in Medieval Islam (*cf.* e.g., M. Hidayet Hosain, "A Treatise on the Interpretation of Dreams," *Islamic Culture* **6**: 569 ff., 1932), and in numerous texts of the late West European Latinity from which they were translated into the various national languages (*cf.* Max Forster, "Die altenglischen Traumlunare," *Englische Studien* **9**: 58 ff., 1925–1926), to survive, in certain instances, to the present day.

The concept that the time of the night (or day) at which a dream was experienced should be indicative of the time which is to elapse before the prognosticated event is to materialize can only be found in the dream-books of Islam (*cf.* N. Bland, *op. cit.*, 139 f.) and in the Indic opus of Jagaddeva, verses 15–17. For the importance of the hour, as considered by Greek oneiromancy, *cf.* C. Blum, *Studies in the Dream-Book of Artemidorus* 93, Uppsala, Olmqvist & Wiksells, 1936.

For curiosity's sake, one should mention here the dream of the Sumerian god Tammuz (§8, no. 2), where it is expressly stated that the South wind blew when the god lay down to sleep. This represents the sole extant indication that atmospheric conditions were believed to exercise an influence upon dreams. We know from (late) cuneiform sources that the South wind was thought to be the carrier of special mantic qualities (*cf. Thompson Esarhaddon*, pl. 3 II: 3).

The nature of the relationship between dream-content, as indicated in the wording of the protasis of a dream-omen, and the prediction contained in the pertinent apodosis can be roughly classified in the following three categories. There are first—because most obvious—the paronomastic associations, so-called puns, for which we have very few instances in our text. A typical example is the omen: "(If a man in his dream) eats a raven (*arbu*): income (*irbu*) will come in" (*cf.* p. 272), or: "(If in his dream somebody) has given him *miḫru*-wood, he will have no rival (*māḫiru*)." Such paronomastic interpretations are better attested in the Egyptian dream-books, both the hieratic and the demotic (*cf.* for examples simply A. Volten, *op. cit.*, 60 ff.). They are given an especially extensive and systematic treatment in Artemidorus' opus, chapter LXXX (book 4).

Secondly, there are associations which we can follow—or think we can, perhaps too optimistically, in certain instances. As a typical example, one may quote here the following, taken again from our Dream-Book: "(If in his dream) he has put on a seal and somebody took (it) away: either his son or his daughter will die," which is followed in the next line by, "(If in his dream somebody) has given him a seal with his name (on it): he will have a name and offspring." The "symbolism" is rather obvious: the inscribed seal-cylinder as symbol of the individuality expands the ego beyond time and body-bound limitations exactly as does a son (Akkadian *šumu* means "name" as well as "son"). *Cf.* also, "(If in his dream somebody) has given him (perfumed) oil: (it means) sweet words (and) pleasantness." For other instances *cf.* p. 277. There certainly are a number of omina which we are inclined to explain in the same manner, in which, however, an association of a different kind may have established the link between protasis and apodosis. We are plainly much too far removed from the specific background of connotations and inherent, intentional, or accidental ambiguities which generated and influenced such associations to indulge in any attempts to explain them.

In some instances, the interpretation of a dream is obviously *per contrariam* (*cf.* Artemidorus 2: 60), as, e.g., "(If a man in his dream) ascends to heaven: his days (on earth) will be short [ ]" (*cf.* p. 267). For an Egyptian parallel, *cf.* by the way, lines 4 and 13, of the Hieratic dream-book (*cf.* p. 243).

And thirdly, there are numerous instances of predictions which are bound to strike us as completely incongruous, such as "(If a man in his dream) traveled to the country Ḫamutbal: he will experience bitter grief," compared with the subsequent entry, "(If a man in his dream) traveled to the country Tupliash: there will be divine pardon," especially when one keeps in mind that both countries are adjacent and their names were already obsolete when the collection was incorporated into the library. *Cf.* also, "(If a man in

his dream) has eaten the flesh of his hand: his daughter will d[ie]," followed by, "(If a man in his dream) has eaten the flesh of his foot: his son and heir [will die]." Here one is clearly forced to assume that uncontrollable associations and absurd computations determine the nature of the prognostic.

In order to demonstrate that this situation is by no means confined to omina derived from dreams, we shall quote here some random samples taken from the greatest collection of omina, i.e., from the series *šumma âlu ina mêlê šakin* "If a city is situated upon an elevation." These passages will, at the same time, demonstrate to the psychologist interested in dreams that he can find and study relevant information exclusively in the protasis of the dream-omina; the relation between dream-content and prediction is part and parcel of the Mesopotamian mantic tradition and, as such, generally without connection with the realm of the dreams, their evaluation and interpretation.

See for this point the first few omina of the series just mentioned: "If a city is situated upon an elevation: the inhabitants of this city will not prosper," "If a city is situated on low ground: the inhabitants of this city will prosper" (*CT XXXVIII* 1: 1–2); or "If in a city there are many deaf people: this city will prosper," as against "If in a city there are many blind people: there will be sorrow (in the) city" (*CT XXXVIII* 4: 74–75), or again, "If (a man has dug a well within his house and) red ants have been seen: the owner of this well will die," and "if black ants have been seen: he will make profits" (*CT XXXVIII* 22: 16–17).

The writing down and collecting of omina—which for Mesopotamia is attested for the later Old Babylonian period—marks the transition of the mantic practices from the folklore level to that of systematic scholarly activity. Once fixed in writing and in a definite form (style and content), such collections of omina were bound to grow in size and to develop in scope. Assembled systematically to furnish the empiric basis on which the claim to respectability of this branch of divination was to be founded, the casuistic presentation of individual omina soon proved insufficient; the theoretical approach superseded the practical. Since the formulation of abstractly conceived principles expressed in general terms was beyond the intellectual reach (and ambition) of this civilization, the aspiration to cover by means of permutations the entire range of possible variations led necessarily to elaborate computations resulting in the cumbersome and stereotyped sequences of casuistically styled omina which characterize this entire type of Akkadian literature. Where Roman genius formulated the abstract principles of the *pars familiaris* and the *pars hostis*, to quote here only one characteristic example, the Mesopotamian diviners weary us with endless repetitions of instances dealing with markings, etc., which appear on the right and the left side of all those intestinal parts of the animal body that were observed in an extispicy, together with the pertinent prognostications. The latter are often rather detailed and, at times, colorful in style and content, but we know that —at least for the most important branch of divination, extispicy—they were actually classified and tabulated only as good or bad whatever their specific content might have been.

In contrast with, e.g., the teratoscopic omina which have undergone important changes in the course of the accretion-process lasting through the centuries between the Old Babylonian and the early Neo-Assyrian period (Assur material), no essential changes can be observed in the collection of dream-omina which happen to be extant. In spite of the fact that our material is very scarce and hence liable to mislead us through the accidents of preservation, the obvious absence of changes can be interpreted as reflecting a lack of interest in things oneiromantic. On p. 269 we shall attempt to show that the structure and genesis of the Dream-Book corroborates the above outlined situation.

There have been definite trends of preference in Mesopotamian divination methods. The technique of predicting the future from the movement, formation, or color of oil poured into water (lecanomancy) seems to have been popular only in the Old Babylonian period (*cf.* the texts *YOS X* 57, 58, 62, and *CT III* 2 ff., V 4). Tablets dealing with divination practices concerned with the smoke rising from a censer (libanomancy) are likewise extant solely in Old Babylonian copies (*cf.* p. 222 for references). If the accidents of survival and availability do not distort the picture too much, we have here an indication of changes in divinatory customs occurring between the Old Babylonian and the Neo-Assyrian periods. However, while lecanomancy and libanomancy became obsolete, oneiromancy does seem to have maintained its standing—at least within the realm of scholarly interest.

This is also illustrated by repeated mention of the series *Zaqīqu*, i.e., our Dream-Book, in administrative texts from Niniveh which list the titles of literary works (mostly omen series but also a vocabulary): *Johns ADD* 869 III: 10, IV: 3 and 980 r. 7 (and the related tablets: *Johns ADD* 967 and 1053), all quoting our series as ÉŠ.QAR *Za-qi-qu*.

The paucity of texts with dream-omina has already been stressed repeatedly and so has the fact that outside of Mesopotamia—that is, in Greece and Egypt—such collections are the only known representatives of a type of literature which abounds in Mesopotamia, i.e., compendia of divinatory texts. The Greek evidence of collections of dream-omina is lost except for the work of Artemidorus Daldianus, who lived in the second half of the second century A.D., yet we know of a considerable array of oneirocritics—in fact, Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, 1: 277, lists twenty-six authors—who are said to have com-

piled such collections from the sixth century B.C. onwards.

In Egypt the situation is more complex. Two collections of dream-omina are extant: a XIIth Dynasty papyrus containing about two hundred omina which was published by A. H. Gardiner (*Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series*, **1**: 9–23, Papyrus Chester Beatty no. III; **2**, plates 5–8a, 12–12a, London, British Museum, 1935; for a translation of a section of the text, *cf.* J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, 495 f.) and a demotic papyrus dating from the second century A.D.: Papyrus Carlsburg XIII and XIV Verso, published by A. Volten, *op. cit.*

The forms and structures of these two Egyptian compendia are so different that we have to embark here first upon a survey of the typology of dream-books of all known proveniences (outside of China) in order to be able to determine the relationship between the hieratic and demotic collections on one hand and the Assyrian Dream-Book on the other.

As far as one can see there are basically two principles of arrangement evidenced in such works: that of the content of the dreams, and that of the nature of their predictions. The contents can be organized and presented either topically or alphabetically. The latter, very practical, type is first attested in Byzantine dream-books and spreads from there throughout medieval Europe where this type of *somniale* maintained itself up to the present day (*cf.* for literature, e.g., F. Drexel, "Das Traumbuch des Propheten Daniel nach dem cod. Vatic. Palat. gr. 319," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* **26**: 314, 1926). The topical arrangements show a number of variations; the omina can be organized according to a restricted number of typical activities or situations, or they may attempt to cover the entire range of the world of dreams from heaven, stars, and kings to death and the scurrilities of daily life, as exemplified in the famous dream-book of Achmet and its forerunners and numerous translations (*cf.* again F. Drexel, "Achmet und das Syrische Traumbuch des Cod. Syr. or. 4434 des Brit. Mus.," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* **30**: 113, 1929–1930). A specific instance of an innovation in topical arrangement —representing a drift towards specialization—should be mentioned here. The zoological encyclopedia of the fourteenth century Arab author, ad-Damīri (*cf.* for its content J. de Somogyi, "*Ad-Damīrī*'s *Ḥayāt-al-Ḥayawān;* an Arabic zoological Lexicon," *Osiris* **9**: 33–43, 1950), contains a series of sections dealing with the mantic import of animals seen in dreams. For a presentation of the names of these animals, the principles of interpretation, etc., *cf.* J. de Somogyi, "The Interpretation of Dreams in Ad-Damīrī's *Ḥayāt-al-Ḥayawān*," *JRAS* 1940: 1–20. In fact, according to the famous dream-book of Artemidorus, several Greek authors of the last third of the first millennium B.C. had already compiled such specialized collections, dealing, e.g., with dreams concerned with certain animals (the swallow, *cf.* Artemidorus 2: 66; the mouse, *cf. ibid.* 3: 28), certain parts of the human body (e.g., the teeth and the tongue, *cf.* 1: 31–32) or even with omina derived from certain dreams, such as erotic dreams (collected by Apollodorus of Telmessos, *cf.* Artemidorus 1: 79).

An arrangement which is based upon the nature of the predictions, that is, which divides the dreams into good and bad ones, is very rare. We know of only two examples, the Indian dream-book (*cf.* J. von Negelein, "Der Traumschlüssel des Jagaddeva," with an important book review by Winternitz in *WZKM* **26**: 403 f.) which seems to belong to the seventh century A.D., and the Egyptian dream-collection of the Papyrus Chester Beatty.

Since the latter represents the only extant document from the ancient Near East which in content and scope corresponds to the Assyrian Dream-Book, we will describe it here in detail, in order to enable the reader to compare its structure with that of our text. The difference in time is difficult to evaluate correctly; the extant hieratic text is dated from the thirteenth century B.C., but there are indications that much older material has been utilized in its composition. The oldest fragment of the cuneiform Dream-Book (*cf.* below pp. 259 f.) goes back to texts written during the Hammurabi-period, hence is separated by nearly four centuries from the Egyptian text in our hands. The extremely conservative character of this type of literature suggests the assumption that both civilizations, the Egyptian and the Semitic Mesopotamian, began to collect dream-omina at about the same time. The question of priority is without any importance, but it should be pointed out—as has already been stated—that dream-omina form in Mesopotamia only one among many types of divination making use of systematic omen-collections, while they represent, in Egypt, the only type of omina collected. On the other hand—this again has been pointed out previously—the Mesopotamian interest in such collections was much weaker than in any other type of divination (*cf.* above p. 242), while from Egypt we have not only another dream-book but, what is more illuminating, a dream-book of a different type which illustrates the fact that this type of literature was rather popular in Egypt (on the "priority"-problem, *cf.* also Gadd, *op. cit.*, 73 f.)

According to the extant remnants, the Egyptian (Hieratic) collection of dream-omina seems to have been organized in two sections, each of which was again subdivided into two. The main sections each deal with dreams experienced by two "types" of human beings called here, respectively, "Followers of the god, Horus" and "Followers of the god, Seth," referring thus with religious terms to what modern constitution-psychology (and its Greek predecessors) would call diametrically contrasting types. It should

be noted here that these two terms and their usage are, so far, not attested elsewhere in Egyptian texts.

Only the description of the "Seth-type" is extant and it is in a poor state of preservation. Those men who "belong" to the evil god, Seth, are described as to their bodily features, size, and life expectancy, the way in which they live, love, and die. Red hair, bad manners, a great attraction for women, rowdiness when drunk, aggressiveness against fellowmen, etc., are their characteristics as far as the text is legible. The description of the opposite type, named after the good and beloved god Horus, is unfortunately missing; we thus do not know how the Egyptians of the first half of the second millennium B.C. conceived of their "verray parfit gentil knight."

In each of these two sections (Seth and Horus), the dream-omina are arranged according to the nature of their predictions and are all introduced by the very same sentence, "If a man see himself in a dream." Those which deal with the dreams of the "Followers of Seth" are lost except for four omina, while 143 good and 91 bad omina are listed in the section which refers to the dreams of the "Followers of Horus." The latter is terminated by a short paragraph containing ritual directions against evil dreams. The sequence of dream-contents in the two sections (good and bad dreams) is devoid of any trace of logical arrangement; items which mention the same activities—such as eating various substances, drinking, copulating, giving or being given various objects, etc.—are scattered throughout the enumeration with a number of repetitions.

The form of the individual Egyptian (Hieratic) dream-omina is also noteworthy: between protasis and apodosis, the words "good" and "bad" are inserted to characterize the nature of the prognostic. *Cf.* two examples: "(If a man see himself in a dream) eating donkey-flesh: good; it means his promotion" (2:21); "(If a man see himself in a dream) shod with white sandals: bad; it means roaming the earth" (7:15 translations of Gardiner). The implications of this style of presentation are difficult to ascertain. It is possible, for instance, that the dreams were at one time classified only as either good or bad and that the specification of the prognostic represents an addition; it is likewise possible that there existed two types of such formulations which were fused in the present text, one of which offered a specific prediction for each dream, while the other contented itself with characterizing the dream as good or bad. Such general qualifications are—in Mesopotamia—actually attested for late collections of hemerologies, but, as already indicated (*cf.* p. 242), even very specific formulations of prognostics in Akkadian hepatoscopic texts are classified in divinatory practices solely with regard to the basic nature of their forecasts.

One of the most interesting features of the Papyrus Chester Beatty is the incantation which terminates the "Horus section." It is intended to be used by a person who has experienced a dream portending evil. This apotropaic ritual consists quite naturally of the two essential sections which Greek terminology describes as *legomena* and *dromena*. The latter—"what is to be performed"—prescribes that the face of the man who has had an evil dream be rubbed with fresh herbs moistened with beer and myrrh and with bread, which is to remove the contamination caused by the dream (*cf.* p. 301 for analogous Mesopotamian practices). The *legomena*—"what is to be said"—consists of a spell to be recited. Its text contains a dialogue between the "Follower of Horus" who experienced the dream and the goddess, Isis, whom he quite logically addresses as his mother. He first calls to her to report his dream and she comes to his assistance by asking him to tell her its content. And it is very interesting that the goddess expressly refers to this reporting of a dream as the proper means of removing its consequences (*cf.* above p. 218 for parallels). This is clearly expressed in her words (quoted here after Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 19), "come out with what thou hast seen, in order that thy afflictions(?) throughout thy dreams may vanish!" The incantation then quotes the apotropaic spell of Isis and ends with the triumphant outcry of the purified dreamer. He declares that the miasma of the evil dream—sent against him by the Thyphonian god Seth—is now expelled and removed and that he is ready to receive pleasant dreams: "Hail to thee, thou(?) good dream which art seen by night or by day!"

When we turn to the demotic Papyrus Carlsburg (*cf.* above p. 243) we are dealing with a compendium organized in an entirely different way. The somewhat more than 250 omina of the text—of which nearly one hundred are half or more destroyed—seem to have been arranged in sections with headings, of which six are extant, although some partly damaged. They are: "The kind of sexual intercourse of which one dreams [ ] of which a woman dreams" (XIII b 2:14), "The kinds of [ ]" (XIII d:8), "The kinds of beer of which a man dreams" (XIV a:1), "The things which [will happen to a person when] he dreams that [a snake is in front of him]" (XIV a:16), "The words which a man dreams that they [say them to him]" (XIV c 2:2), and "The kinds of swimming [of which a man dreams]" (XIV f:16).

Outside of these sections are small groups of omina which seem likewise to be arranged according to the contents of the dreams they describe. Among these is, e.g., a group dealing with dreaming of figures, with eating the faeces of various animals, or with wreaths of various flowers given to the dreaming person. Others contain what seem rather disparate omina but the reason for their being grouped together would certainly have been elucidated by their now lost headings. Special attention must finally be called to those sections which deal with dreams experienced by women,

a unique feature in Near Eastern dream-books. Apart from the heading mentioned already under which are assembled sexual dreams of women, we have a group of omina enumerating various animals of which women may dream that they have given birth to or nursed, and another small group too damaged to allow us to establish the dreams mentioned there.

In spite of certain similarities in the content of individual omina (*cf.* Volten, *op. cit.*, 13–15 for details), the very fact that we have from Egypt two entirely different types of dream-omina collections is of great interest. A. Volten (*op. cit.*, 15 f.) is inclined to see in the hieratic collection an excerpt from a topically arranged dream-book that has been lost but is part of a tradition which has maintained itself throughout the entire history of Egyptian literature and of which the demotic compendium is but the last offspring. As to the purpose of such an excerpt, Volten offers no suggestion, but it seems not too unlikely that the desire to "prove" the division of all human beings into "Followers of Horus" and "Followers of Seth" could have prompted the learned compiler to arrange existing omina in this way. The lack of any system in the grouping and the sequence of the omina seems, however, to speak against this explanation. On the other hand, it is equally within the realm of possibility that the demotic dream-book represents the influence of Mesopotamian oneiromantic on Egypt, while the hieratic opus should be considered the native Egyptian representative of this type of literature. The impact of Mesopotamian astrology and astronomy on Egypt in this period could well be adduced to lend some weight to our theory. At any rate, the fact that the two fragments of the entire Egyptian oneiromantic literature which have happened to survive do accidentally illustrate two different types of dream-books should caution us to accept the hypothesis of Volten. The latter is tacitly based upon the assumption that the excerpting of texts and the arrangement of such excerpts in a novel way are congruent with Egyptian concepts of scholarly activity, an assumption which cannot be taken for granted without adducing parallels.

The problem cannot, of course, be solved by means of more or less ingenious hypotheses; it will require at least one more new text or fragments to make one or the other explanation more likely, i.e., that the demotic dream-book was compiled under foreign (that is, Mesopotamian) influence, or that the hieratic text represents an isolated example of a different arrangement.

Here we come to the end of a long trail which has led us through the entire ancient Near East in the quest of dream-reports, interpreters, and interpretations and—eventually—dream-books.

8. DREAM-REPORTS FROM ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN SOURCES

I. SUMERIAN

1. *Dream of Gudea*

(Gudea, Cyl. A IV: 7–VI: 14 = *TCL VIII* pl. 4–5)

To Nanshe he went, saluted her:
"Nanshe, queen, e n -(priestess), queen of . . . ,
queen who 'decides the fates' like (the god) Enlil,
my Nanshe, you who since your word is irrefutable,
since it is precedential(?),
are the e n s i -priestess of the gods,
are the queen of all countries, mother, discuss(?) with me(?) the dream:
In the dream, the first man—like the heaven was his surpassing (size),
like the earth was his surpassing (size),
(according) to his (horn-crowned(?)) head he was a god,
(according) to his wings he was I m d u g u d (the bird of the Weather-god),
(according) to his lower parts(?) he was the Storm-flood,
lions were lying to his right and left—
commanded me to build his house;
but I do not know what he had in mind.
Daylight rose for me on the horizon.
The first woman—whoever she may have been—
coming out ahead(?) did . . .
a . . . stylus she held in (her) hand,
a tablet of(?) heavenly stars she put on (her) knees,
consulting it.
The second (man) was a warrior,
he . . . , a tablet of lapis lazuli he held in (his) hand,
set down (thereon(?)) the plan of the temple.
Before me stood a pure carrying pad,
a pure brick-mold was lined up (?),
a brick, determined as to (its) nature, was placed in the mold for me,
in a conduit standing before me
was a slosher(?), a bird-man(?), keeping(?) clear(?) water(?) flowing(?),
a male donkey at the right of my lord
kept pawing the ground for me."
To the e n s i his mother Nanshe replied:
"My shepherd, I will interpret your dream for you:
(According) to (the fact that) the man was surpassing like heaven,
(according) to (the fact that) the man was surpassing like earth,
(according) to (the fact that as) to his head he was a god,
(according) to (the fact that as) to his wings
he was Imdugud, (according) to (the fact that as) to his lower parts(?) he was the Storm-flood,
(that) at his right and left lions were lying,

he was surely my brother Ningirsu,
he spoke to you concerning the building of his house Ê . n i n n u .
The daylight which rose for you on the horizon
was your (personal) god Ningišzida, he will go out and away for you (in connection) with this (matter) into all the world.
The maiden coming out ahead(?) who did . . .
who held a . . . stylus in (her) hand,
who placed a tablet of(?) stars on (her) knee,
who consulted it,
was surely my sister Nisaba.
The pure star (which determines) the building of the house
she announced to you.
The second (man) who was a warrior, who . . . ,
who held a tablet of lapis lazuli in (his) hand
was (the god) Nindub, he was copying the plan of the house.
The pure carrying pad which stood before you, the pure brick-mold lined up(?)
the brick, determined as to (its) nature, which was placed in the brick-mold
was surely the true brick of the Ê . n i n n u .
(To judge) by the conduit that stood before you
in which a slosher(?), a bird-man(?), kept(?) clear(?) water(?) flowing(?)
(it means): sweet sleep will not enter your eyes (because of) your being busy building the house,
(to judge) by the male donkey which kept pawing the ground for you at the right of your lord
(it means): you are pawing the ground (impatiently) like a choice foal (eager to build) the Ê . n i n n u !"

For discussion *cf.* pp. 189, 211 f.

2. *Dream of Tammuz* (*Dumu . zi*)

(*Genouillac Kich* II D 53 and C 45, also *Kramer SLTN* 36)

In the southwind he lay down, the shepherd lay down in the southwind,
the shepherd lay down in the southwind, to dream he lay down.
He arose—it was a dream, he arose— . . . ,
he rubbed his eyes, full of daze:
"Bring my sister, bring!
Bring my Geštinanna, bring my sister!
Bring my scribe who understands tablets, bring my sister!
Bring my songstress who knows songs(?), bring my sister!
Bring my wise-one who knows the meaning of dreams, bring my sister!
Bring my little-one who knows the heart of matters, bring my sister!
I will report my dream to her;
in my dream, oh my sister who knows dreams well,
rushes were rising for me, rushes grew for me,
one reed standing alone shook the head(?) for me,
(of) two several reeds, one was removed;
in the wood a tall tree was torn up by itself for me!
Upon my pure hearth water was poured for me,
the pure churn was removed from its stand(?),
the pure drinking vessel hanging on a peg, was taken down(?) from the peg,
my walking-stick disappeared from me;
the owl . . . held in its claw a . . . ,
the falcon . . . held a . . . -wort in (its) claw!
My goats and kids were stretched in the dust with blue mouths,
my ram with bent legs was pawing the ground for me!
The churn lay on its side(?), milk did not flow,
the drinking vessel lay on its side(?), Dumuzi did not finish (it), the fold was thrown to the wind!"
Geštinanna answered Dumuzi:
"My brother your dream is not favorable, it may not be removed,
Dumuzi your dream is not favorable, it may not be removed!
Rushes rose for you, rushes grew for you (this means): bandits on a razzia will rise up against you(?);
A single reed was shaking its head for you (this means): your mother who bore you will shake her head for you;
Two several reeds—one was removed for you (this means): I and you, one (of us) will be removed;
That in the wood the tall tree was turned up for you by itself (means): the evil one will . . . ;
Your pure hearth, water was poured upon it (this means): they will place . . . ;
Your pure churn was removed for you from its stand(?) (this means): the evil one will . . . ;
Your pure drinking vessel hanging on the peg was taken down from the peg (this means): you will fall from the knees(?) of the mother who bore you;
That your walking-stick disappeared from you (this means): . . . ;
That the owl held in its claw a . . . (this means): the evil one . . . ;
That the falcon held in its claw a . . . (this means): . . . will come out against you(?);
Your goats and kids were lying in the dust with blue mouths (this means): . . .
The ram was pawing the ground with bent forelegs (this means): . . .
(balance broken)

For discussion *cf.* pp. 196, 212 f.

II. AKKADIAN

3. *Dreams of Gilgamesh*

(Old Babylonian version, *PBS X/3* I: 1–II: 1)

Giš (short for Gilgamesh) rose (from his bed) to report the dream,
He said to his mother:

"Mother, in the middle of the night,
I proudly walked up and down
Among the people.
There were stars on the sky
(but suddenly) a *kiṣrum* of Anu (the Sky-god) fell upon me!
I lifted it—but it was too heavy for me,
I shook it—but I could not (even) shake it.
All Uruk was assembled around it
And the people kissed his feet.
I opposed (them) (uncertain, idiom: 'I leaned my forehead')
(but) they were too many against me (uncertain).
(Then) I lifted him (the *kiṣrum*) and carried him off to you!"
The mother of Giš, who knows everything,
Said to Giš:
"Surely, Giš, somebody who is (as strong) as you
Has been born in the open country side,
And the hills have raised him!
When you will see him you will rejoice [ ],
And the people will kiss his feet!
You will embrace him and [ ] him,
You will bring him to me!"
He lay down and saw a second (dream),
He told his mother [this dream]:
"Mother, I had a second (dream),
[ ] . . . in the street
of Uruk-of-the-square
was lying a *ḫaṣṣinnu*-axe and
They (the inhabitants) were assembled around it.
Strange was the form of the axe (but)
As soon as I saw it I rejoiced,
I loved it, like a wife
I embraced it.
(Then) I took (it) and put (it)
At my side!"
The mother of Giš, she who knows everything,
(three lines destroyed)
Because I shall rank him (on the same level) as you!"

For discussion *cf.* p. 215.

4. *Dreams of Gilgamesh*

(Neo-Assyrian version, *Thompson Epic*, pl. 6–8 V: 25–VI: 27)

Gilgamesh arose to report his dreams, he said to his mother:
"Dear mother, (in) the dream I had this night
There were stars in the sky,
(But) something like the *kiṣru* of Anu fell eventually upon me.
I lifted it but it was stronger than I,
I turned it over but I could not (even) shake it.
All Uruk was assembled around it
[All the land]
[The peop]le [ag]ai[nst]
[The] were in throngs around it,
[my fr]iends kissed its feet,
[While] I embraced it like a wife.
[Then I] threw it down in front of you
[And yo]u ranked it (on the same level) as me!"
[The mother of Gilgamesh, the wise, she who kn]ows everything said to her master,
[Ninsun, the wise], she who knows everything said to Gilgamesh:
"Your [rival(?)is] the star in the sky,
[That which was like the *kiṣru* of A]nu which eventually fell upon you
[Which you lifted but it was str]onger than you,
[Which you turned over but] could [not] even shake
[Which you thr]ew down in front of me
[So that I should r]ank it with you—
[This means: a strong one, a com]panion, one who will save [the friend],
[Who will be (the) strong(est) in the country] one who has strength,
[Like that of a *kiṣru* of Anu] is his mighty strength;
[That you] embraced him [like a wife]
[Means: he will never f]orsake you!
[Thus] your dream [is sol]ved!" ([*pa-aš*]-*rat šu-na-at-ka*)
[Gilgamesh said again] to his mother:
"[Dear mother, I h]ad another dream:
[Into the surroundings(?) of Uruk] a *ḫaṣṣinnu*-axe was thrown, there was a gathering around it
All Uruk was assembled around it
[The were assem]bled before it
[The peo]ple [ ] around it,
[Then, I] threw it down in front of you
[and] embraced it like a wife,
[So that you] should rank it (on the same level) as me!"
[The mother of Gilgamesh], the wise, she who knows everything, said to her son,
[Ninsun, the w]ise, she who knows everything, said to Gilgamesh:
"[The ax]e which you have seen—is a human being,
[And that you] embraced it like a wife
[So that] I should rank it (on the same level) as you
[Me]ans: a strong one, a companion, one who will save a friend,
[Like that of a *kiṣru* of A]nu is his mighty strength!"
[Gilgamesh opened his mouth and] said to his mother:
"[ ] . . . may he arrive,
[ ] may I acquire a friend
[ ] I!"

For discussion *cf.* p. 215.

5. *Three Dreams of Gilgamesh*

(*KUB IV* 48: 6–19)

Sleep which at night is poured (over man), ca[ught them]
But in the middle of the night, the sleep [departed] from him;

The dream he told to Enkidu: "Dear [friend],
If you did not wake me, why [am I awake?]
Enkidu, my friend, I must have had (literally: seen) a dream!
Did you wake me? Why [ ]
Aside from my first dream [I had a] second [dream]:
In my dream, dear friend, the mountain [collapsed(?)]
It threw me over, seized my feet [ ]
The sheen became stronger, a man (1-*en* LÚ.KA[L])
[ ]
His beauty exceeded any beauty in the country [ ]
From under the mountain, he pulled me out and [ ]
Gave me water to drink, my heart bec[ame quiet]
He set [my] feet (again) on the ground."

(*Thompson Epic*, pl. 18 f. II: 32–III: 22)

(break)

"[The second d]ream which I had (literally: saw):
[In the m]idst of the mountain w[e]
[The mounta]in collapsed [ ]
[And w]e like 'reed-flies' [were]"
He who was born in the open country,
Enkidu said to his friend [ ]:
"Dear fr[iend], your dream is favorable!
The dream is precious indeed [ ]
Dear friend, the mountain which you have se[en is Humbaba, it means:]
[We] shall seize Humbaba, we [shall kill him]
[And] we shall throw his corpse into the plain [ ]!"
. . . .
Towards the West they dig a pit [ ]
(Then) Gilgamesh went up and upon the [ ]
He offered his meal-offering [(saying):]
"Mountain, bring me a dream [ ]
Make for him [ ]!"
[And the mountain] brought a dre[am]
[It m]ade for him [ ].
A cool draft passed by, [a zephyr(?)] bl[ew],
It made him fall asleep and [ ]
[ ] like "mountain-barley" [ ]
[Gil]gamesh planted his chin on his knees
And sleep which (at this time of the day) is (everywhere ?) poured upon man overcame him.
At the midnight-watch, his sleep ended (suddenly)
He rose and said to his friend:
"Dear friend, you did not call me (or did you?), then why am I awake?
You did not touch me, then why am I perturbed?
A god did not pass by, then why are my limbs paralyzed?
Dear friend, I had a third dream,
And the dream I had was confounding in every respect:
Heaven roared, the earth tumbled,
Daylight subsided, darkness came forth,
Lightning flashed, fire shot up,
[The clouds(?)] became dense, it rained death!
[Then ca]me to an end the glowing(?), the fire came to an end,
[The . . . which] had fallen turned to ashes!
[Come let us g]o down (from the mountain), we can (better) deliberate in the plain!"
[However(?)], Enkidu made him "accept" his dream, he said to Gilgamesh:

(break)

For discussion *cf.* pp. 189, 215 f., 234, 236.

6. *Dream of Enkidu*

(Hittite, *KUB VIII* 48 I: 2–22, and duplicates, *cf.* Friedrich, *ZA* 39: 17 ff.)

[And] Enkidu answered Gilgamesh:
"[I shall tell you] the dream I had this night:
Anu, Enlil, Ea and the Sun-god of Heaven [were in council],
Anu said to Enlil:
'Why did they kill the Bull of Heaven, and also kill Huwawa who watch[ed](?) the mountains from a cedar tree?'
Anu said: '[Who shall die] from among them?'
But Enlil said: 'Enkidu shall die,
But Gilgamesh shall not die!'
Then the Sun-god of Heaven answered Enlil, the hero:
'Was it not at your (own) command
that they killed the Bull of Heaven and Huwawa? Now the innocent,
Enkidu, shall die?' Enlil turned
in anger to the Sun-god of Heaven: 'Why did you—
As (if you were) their(!) comrade—daily go with them?' " Enkidu
was lying down (ill) in front of Gilgamesh,
With his tears streaming like canals, (he, i.e. Enkidu, said):
"My brother, you are my dear brother! So they are placing me above my brother!
Now I shall be with the dead,
Shall sit at the threshold of the dead,
And shall not see with (my) eyes my dear brother (any more)!"

For discussion *cf.* p. 296.

7. *Death-Dream of Enkidu*

(*Thompson Epic*, pl. 29 IV: 14–54)

"[Dear friend], this night I had dreams:
The heaven [cried], the earth echoed
[In] I stood alone!
[There came a griffin(?)] with gloomy mien,
[ ] his face was like that of a [ ]
[The . . . of a . . . were] his [ ], his hoofs talons of an eagle.
[He summoned] me with strong words,
[ ] he stripped [me of my garments(?)]

[In] he submerged me

(eight lines destroyed)

[ ] he turned me into a [double(?)] of his body
My arms [were now clad with feathers] like (those of) a bird.
Holding me (by the hand) he led me down to the Dark Mansion, the abode of Irkalla,
To the house which he who enters it will not leave any more,
Upon a road on which there is no way back,
To the house whose inhabitants are bereft of light,
Where earth is their fare and clay their food.
Clad like birds in feather-garments,
They sit in the darkness never to see light again,
To the House of Dust (where) I entered (now) myself,
I beheld [all the kings], their mitres put away,
[I saw the princes, all the] crown-bearers who had ruled the land since antiquity.
[To these appointees of] Anum and Ellil roasted meats were served,
[ ] bake-meats(?) were served and cold water they poured (for them) from water-skins.
In the House of Dust (where) I entered (now) myself,
Reside high-priests (*enu*) as well as psalmists (*lagaru*),
Reside the purification-priests and the ecstatics,
Reside the priests who anoint the lavers of the great gods,
Resides Etana, resides Sumuqan,
[Resides] the Queen of the Netherworld, Ereshkigal
[And Bêlit]-irṣitim, the scribe of the Netherworld, is kneeling in front of her,
[She holds] a tablet and reads out to her.
[She lifted] her head and saw me (saying):
['Who] has brought this man hither?'
(break)

For discussion *cf.* pp. 213 f.

8. *Dream of Gyges*

(Aššurbanipal, V *R* 1 ff. II: 95–104)

Aššur, the god who created me, let Gyges, king of Lydia, a region beyond the sea, a distant country the name of which my royal predecessors had not (even) heard, see in a dream the "pronunciation" (*nibittu*) of my name (variant: of my important kingdom) (saying, that is, the god): "Lay hold of the feet of Aššurbanipal, king of Assyria, and you will conquer (then) your enemies through the mention (only) of his name!" The (very) day he had this dream, he sent his mounted (messenger) to inquire after the state of my health. Through his messenger he reported to me (his dream). (And) from the day he laid hold of my royal feet he conquered the Cimmerians who had been harassing the inhabitants of his country.

For discussion *cf.* p. 202.

9. *The Crossing of the River Idid'e*

(Aššurbanipal, V *R* 3, V: 95–104)

The army saw the river Idid'e (which was at that moment) a raging torrent, and was afraid of the crossing. (But) the goddess Ishtar who dwells in Arbela let my army have a dream in the midst of the night (*ina šât* GE_6) (addressing them) as follows: "I shall go in front of Aššurbanipal, the king whom I have created myself!" The army relied upon this dream and crossed safely the river Idid'e.

For discussion *cf.* p. 209.

10. *The Dream of the Priest of Ishtar*

(Aššurbanipal, H. Winckler, *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*, *K.* 3040: rev. 10 ff., Leipzig, Pfeiffer, 1895

Ishtar heard my desperate sighs and said (to me in a theophany): "Be not afraid (that you see me)!" (This alone) put confidence in my heart (and she continued): "I have (already) had mercy upon you on account of the prayer you performed (and because) your eyes were full of tears." (And indeed) in the midst of the (very same) night (variant: in the very same night) in which I addressed myself to Ishtar, a *šabrû*-priest went to bed and had a dream. He woke up with a start and Ishtar made him see a "nocturnal vision." He reported (it) to me as follows: "The goddess Ishtar who dwells in Arbela entered (the room), quivers hanging at her right and left, holding the bow in her (one) hand, the sharp sword drawn (ready) for battle. She stood before you (text erroneously: her), speaking to you like a real mother. (Then) Ishtar, the most high among the gods, called you to give you the following order: 'Wait with the attack (because) wherever you intend to go, I, myself, shall set out for!' (Then) you said to her as follows: 'Wherever you go, I will go with you, Supreme Lady!' (But) she repeated (her command) as follows: 'You stay here, the place where you (should be); eat, drink wine, make merry, pay homage to (my) godhead while I shall go and accomplish this task and make you obtain your heart's desires! (Then) your face will not be pale, your feet will not shake (any more) and you need not wipe off your (cold) sweat (even) in the thick of the battle!' (Thereupon) she wrapped you in her sweet (smelling) baby-sling protecting your entire body. (Then) her countenance shone like fire and she went out (of the room), in rage to defeat your enemies, proceeding in the direction of Teumman, king of Elam, who had made her very angry."

For discussion *cf.* pp. 188, 190, 200, 207.

11. *A Warning Dream*

(Aššurbanipal, V *R* 2, III: 118–127)

In these days, a man (1-*en* LÚ.KAL) went to bed in the middle of the night and had a dream as

follows: Upon the pedestal (*kigallu*) of (the image of) Sin was written (here a variant adds: the god Nabu, the scribe of the world, (in) his divine function was standing there and reading again and again the inscription of the pedestal of Sin): "Upon those who plot evil against Aššurbanipal, king of Assyria, and resort to (actual) hostilities, I shall bestow miserable death, I shall put an end to their lives through the quick iron dagger (of war), conflagration, hunger (and) pestilence (literally: the disease of Irra)!" This (dream) I (Aššurbanipal) heard and put my trust upon the word of my lord Sin.

For discussion *cf.* p. 201 f.

12. *Dream of Nabonidus*

(V *R* 64 I: 13–55)

During my lawful rule, the great Lords became reconciled with this town and (its) temple out of love for my kingship; they had mercy (upon the town) and they let me see a dream in the very first year of my everlasting rule: Marduk, the Great Lord, and Sin, the luminary of heaven and earth, stood (there) both; Marduk said to me: "Nabonidus, king of Babylon, bring bricks on your own chariot (drawn by your own) horse, (re)build the temple É.ḪÚL.ḪÚL and let Sin, the Great Lord, take up his dwelling there!" I said to the Ellil of the gods, Marduk: "The *Umman-manda* (here for: the Medes) are laying siege to the very temple which you have ordered (me) to (re)build and their armed might is very great!" But Marduk said to me: "The *Umman-manda* of whom you spoke, they, their country and (all) the kings, their allies, shall cease to exist!" (And indeed) when the third year came to pass, he (Marduk) made rise against them Cyrus, king of Anshan, his young servant, and he (Cyrus) scattered the numerous *Umman-manda* with his small army and captured Astyages, king of the *Umman-manda* and brought him in fetters into his (Cyrus') land. That was the doing of the Great Lord Marduk whose command cannot be changed.

For discussion *cf.* pp. 189, 202 f.

13. *Another Dream of Nabonidus*

(*MVAG* 1(1) pl. 76, VI: 1–36)

With regard to the conjunction of the Great Star and the moon, I became apprehensive (but in a dream) a man (1-*en eṭ-lu*) stood (suddenly) beside me and said to me: "There are no evil portents (involved) in the conjunction!" In the same dream, Nebukadnezzar, my royal predecessor and one attendant (appeared to me) standing on a chariot. The attendant said to Nebukadnezzar: "Do speak to Nabonidus so that he can report to you the dream he has had!" Nebukadnezzar was agreeable (literally: listened to him) and said to me: "Tell me what good (signs) you have seen!" I answered him saying: "In my dream I saw with joy the Great Star, the moon and the planet Jupiter (literally: Marduk) high up in the sky and it (the Great Star) called me by my name [ ]."

For discussion *cf.* pp. 188, 189, 191, 203.

14. *Dreams from a Religious Poem*

(*Ludlul bêl nêmeqi*, *KAR* 175: 8–44)

(In a) dream as well as (in a) vision at dawn it was shown(?) (MÁŠ.GE$_6$ *mu-na-at-tú*)
A man (*iš-ta-nu eṭ-lu*), surpassing in size,
Of glorious form, beautifully(?) clad;
Because in the morning-(dream?) . . . [ ]
. . .
[ ] went forth against [me],
[ ] my flesh became numb
[(the apparition said)], the Lady has sent [me]
[ ]
[ ] I said [ ]
[he said/answered] as follows: She has se[nt me]
(after two damaged lines:)
Again, I [went to bed and saw a dream]
In the dream which I s[aw]
A man (*iš-ta-nu eṭ-lu*) [ ]
A tamarisk-branch, used for purification, holding [in his] ha[nd]
(saying): "*Ṭâb-utul-Ellil* who lives in Nippur
Has sent me to purify you!"
Water of . . . he pou[red over me],
He recited the incantation (restoring) life and anointed [me with . . .]
A third time, I had a dream
[in] the dream which I had that very (same) night
[ ] like a human being [ ] a maiden with beautiful fea[tures]
A queen [ ] like a deity
Entered and [ ]
The uttering of the *aḫulap* (ritual expression of divine pardon) for me [ ]
"Be not afraid!" she said [ ]
What the dream . . . [ ]
She uttered the *aḫulap* for me, the greatly afflicted (variant: the utterly exhausted).
Somebody else who had a vision (concerning me) in the midst of the night (as follows):
In (that) dream Ur-Nintinugga [ ],
A bearded man, wearing his crown,
This was the *mašmāšu*-priest holding a [ ] (and saying):
"Marduk has sent [me]!"
To *Šubši-mešrê-Nergal* he brought [ ],
In his pure hands he brought [ ]
To my attendant he en[trusted it(?)]

For discussion *cf.* pp. 187, 189, 217, 225.

III. EGYPTIAN

15. *Dream of Thutmose IV*

(Sphinx Stela, lines 8–12)

One of these days it happened that the King's-Son Thutmose came driving at the time of the midday (and) he rested in the shadow of this great god (i.e., the Sphinx). Slumber and sleep overcame him at the moment when the sun was at the zenith, (and) he found the majesty of this august god speaking with his own mouth as a father speaks to his son, as follows: "Behold me, look upon me, my son Thutmose. I am your father Harmakhis-Khepri-Re-Atum. I will give to you (my) kingly office on earth (as) foremost of the living, and you shall wear the crown of Upper Egypt and the crown of Lower Egypt on the throne of Geb, the Hereditary Prince. To you shall belong the earth in its length and its breadth and (all) that which the eye of the All-Lord illuminates. You shall possess provisions from within the Two Lands (as well as) the great products of every foreign country. For the extent of a long period of years my face (has been turned) to you (and) my heart (devoted) to you. You belong to me. Behold, my state is like (that of) one who is in suffering, and all my members are out of joint, (for) the sand of the desert, this (place) on which I am, presses upon me. I have waited to have you do what is in my heart, for I know that you are my son and my champion. Approach! Behold, I am with you. I am your guide." He completed this speech. And this King's-Son awoke when he heard this . . . he recognized the words of this god.

For discussion *cf.* pp. 188, 191.

16. *Dream of Merenptah*

(W. M. Müller, Egypt. Res. I pl. 22, lines 28–29)

Then his majesty saw in a dream as if it were the image of Ptah standing in the presence of the Pharaoh, (and) he was as high as. . . . (And) he said to him: "Take now," giving to him the sword, "and banish from yourself your troubled heart!" (And) Pharaoh said to him: "Indeed. . . ."

For discussion *cf.* p. 192.

17. *Dream of Tanutamun*

(Stela publ. by Maspero, Rev. archéol. XVII 329 ff.)

Year 1 of his installation as king. . . . His majesty saw a dream in the night: two serpents, one on his right, the other on his left. His majesty awoke, but he did not find them. His majesty said: "Why has this happened to me?" Then they declared to him: "Upper Egypt belongs to you; take for yourself Lower Egypt (also). The Two Goddesses (have) appeared on your head. The land is given to you in its length and (in) its breadth. There is no other to share it with you!" When his majesty appeared on the throne of Horus in this year, his majesty came forth from the place in which he had been, as Horus came forth from Chemmis. When he came forth from . . . (or: when he came forth as . . .), a million came to him and a hundred thousand followed after him. Then his majesty said: "True indeed is the dream; it is beneficial to him who places it in his heart but evil for him who does not know it."

For discussion *cf.* pp. 187, 191, 206 f.

18. *Dream of the Prince of Bekhten*

(Bentresh Stela, lines 24–25)

Then the prince of Bekhten was asleep on his bed (and) he saw this god, he having come to him out of his chapel—he was a falcon of gold—(and) he flew up to the sky to Egypt. He awoke in terror(?). Then he said to the priest of Khonsu the Plan-maker in Thebes: "This god, he is here with us (but) he (would) go to Egypt. Let his chariot go to Egypt!" Then the prince of Bekhten caused this god to proceed to Egypt.

For discussion *cf.* pp. 187, 206 f.

19. *Dream of Djoser*

(Hunger Stela, lines 18–22)

While I was sleeping in life and happiness I found the god standing before me. I conciliated him with praise and offered prayer in his presence. He revealed himself concerning me with friendly face and he declared: "I am Khnum, your creator. My arms are round about you to compose your body and to heal your limbs. I assign to you the (precious) stones and hard stones which have existed from the beginning (and) with which no work has (yet) been done, in order to build temples, to restore what is ruined, and to hew out shrines, doing what one ought to do for his lord. For I am the creative lord. I am the one who created himself, Nun the very great, who came into existence at the beginning, at whose desire the inundation rises in order to reach the work of my command, while every man is led to his duty. (I am) Tenen, father of the gods, Shu the great, controller of the earth. The two caverns are in a chamber beneath me, the springs which belong to me to open. I know the inundation; its flood (literally: embrace) is upon the cultivation—its flood which confers life upon every nose; the flood is upon the cultivation until the retreat and the land is tilled. I shall pour forth for you the inundation without a year of failure and scarcity in the entire land, and all plants will grow and bend under the(ir) fruit. Renenut will be foremost over everything and everything will be produced by the millions throughout full years. The peasants will

think in their hearts along with (their) lords: 'The year of famine has passed'—those in whose granaries want had existed. (All) Egypt will come into the field; the land will glisten; the barley will be cut; joy will be in their hearts more than it was before."

Then I awoke refreshed(?), my heart determined and at rest, and I made this decree in the presence of my father Khnum:

For discussion *cf.* pp. 189, 191, 192.

20. *Dream of Taimhotep*

(Stela, lines 1–15 with omission of titles)

A-boon-which-the-king-gives to Soka-Osiris, Serapis, Isis, Nephthys, Horus, Anubis, and all the other gods who are in the beautiful western necropolis of Memphis, in order that they may place invocation offerings on their altars for the *ka* of the late hereditary princess Taimhotep, daughter of Khahapy whom Herankh bore.

She says: Oh, all judges, all . . . , all princes, all nobles, and all (other) people who will enter this tomb, come that you may hear what happened to me. Year 9, fourth month of Inundation, day 9, under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Philopator Philadelphos, the Son of Re, Ptolemy (XIII), beloved of Ptah and Isis, (was) the day on which I was born Year 23, third month of Harvest, day 1(?) under the majesty of this Lord of the Two Lands, my father gave me to be the wife of the high priest Pasherenptah, the son of the high priest Pedubast, whom the late Herankh bore. The heart of the high priest rejoiced very greatly over it. I conceived by him three times without giving birth to a male child (but) only to three daughters. I prayed along with the high priest to the majesty of this august god, great of wonders and able to give a son to one who has none, Imhotep, the son of Ptah. He heard our petition and heeded his prayer. He came to this high priest in a revelation and said: "Let a great work be carried out, a splendid place of Ankhtawy, a place where corpse(s) may be hidden, and I shall make for you in return for it a male child." On this he awoke and kissed the earth to this august god. He commissioned the prophets, the chiefs of the mysteries, the priests, and the sculptors of the House of Gold at once to carry out the beneficent work in (the form of) a splendid place. They acted in accordance with everything he had said. Then he performed an opening-of-the-mouth for this august god and made a great hecatomb of every good thing. He rewarded the sculptors because of this god and satisfied their hearts in every respect in return for this. He impregnated me with a male child which was born in the year 6, third month of Harvest, day 15, in the eighth hour of the day, under the majesty of the queen, Lady of the Two Lands, Cleopatra. It was the Offering-on-the-Altar-Feast of this august god Imhotep, son of Ptah. (And) his (the child's) form resembled that of the son of South-of-his-Wall (i.e., Ptah, father of Imhotep). And there was rejoicing on account of him among the inhabitants of White-Wall (i.e., Memphis). The name Imhotep was given to him, and he was also called Pedubast.

For discussion *cf.* p. 194.

(FROM GREEK SOURCES)

21. *Dream of Ptolemy Soter*

(Plutarch, *De Iside* 28, also Tacitus, *Historiae* 4: 83)

Ptolemy Soter saw in a dream the colossus of the god Pluto in Sinope but because he had not seen it before he did not understand (the meaning of) its form; he saw it giving him orders to bring it (i.e., the image) as quickly as possible to Alexandria. Not knowing what it (the colossus) meant and being at a loss (about the place) where it was set up, and telling his friends about his vision, a much-traveled man was found for him (i.e., Ptolemy) named Sosibios who said that he had seen such a colossus as the king seemed to have seen in Sinope; so he (i.e., Ptolemy) sent Soteles and Dionysios there, who, after a long time and with difficulty, and not, moreover, without divine providence, stole away with it and brought it back (to Alexandria). And when it was brought and inspected, those (scholars) around Timothy, the exegete, and Manetho of Sebennytos agreed that it was an image of Pluto, basing this (explanation) upon the evidence of the Cerberus and the serpent (to be seen on the statue); they persuaded Ptolemy that it was the statue of no other god but Serapis.

For discussion *cf.* p. 209.

22. *Dream of Sethos*

(Herodotus 2: ~~139~~ 141)

Afterwards, therefore, when Sennacherib, king of the Arabians and the Assyrians, marched his vast army into Egypt, the warriors one and all refused to come to his (Sethos') aid. Upon this the monarch, greatly distressed, entered into the inner sanctuary and, before the image of the god, bewailed the fate which impended over him. As he wept he fell asleep, and dreamed that the god came and stood at his side, bidding him to be of good cheer, and go boldly forth to meet the Arabian host, which would do him no hurt, as he (the god) himself would send those who should help him. Sethos then, relying on the dream, collected those of the Egyptians who were willing to follow him, who were none of them warriors, but traders, artisans and market people; and with these marched to Pelusium, which commands the entrance into Egypt, and there pitched his camp.

For discussion *cf.* pp. 188, 200.

23. *Dream of King Nektonabōs*

(U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemaerzeit (Ältere Funde)*, no. 81, pp. 369–374, Berlin-Leipzig, De Gruyter, 1927)

(col. II) In the 16th year on the 21st of (the month) Pharmouthi to the 22nd (July 5–6, 343 B.C.) by the god of the full moon(?). When King Nektonabōs came to Memphis and once performed a sacrifice and begged the gods to reveal him what was happening, he seemed (to see) in a dream a papyrus boat, which in Egyptian is called *rhōps* anchoring at Memphis. And upon it there was a great throne, and upon this sat the greatly glorious benefactress of fruits and queen of the gods, Isis, and all the gods in Egypt were standing beside her to the right and left of her. And one came forward in their midst, whose height I supposed to be twenty-one cubits, who is called Onūris in Egyptian, and Arēs in Greek. Falling upon his belly he spoke as follows: "Come to me, goddess of gods, having the greatest power and ruling over what is in the cosmos, and giving life to all the gods, Isis, and be gracious and hearken to me. As thou hast commanded, I have preserved the land blamelessly. (col. III) And whereas until now King Nektonabōs has taken every kind of care of me, Samaus, appointed by thee over the land, has neglected my temple and has opposed my commands. I am (still) outside of my own(?) temple, and the things in the sanctuary are (only) half-finished because of the worthlessness of the one in charge!" The queen of the gods, having heard the before-mentioned words, answered nothing.

Having seen the dream he (Nektonabōs) awoke and gave orders in haste to Sebennytos to the high priest and the prophet of Onūris. And when they came to court . . . the king asked what was the incomplete work in the sanctuary called Phersō. And when they said: "It is finished except for the inscribing of the obliterated hieroglyphs in the stone work," he commanded that in haste they(?) write concerning the sacred accounts(?) of the hieroglyph-carvers. And when they (the artists) came in obedience to this command, the king asked who was most talented among them, who would be able quickly to finish the incomplete work in the sanctuary called Phersō. When this was said(?) . . . from Aphrodite's city of the name of Aphroditopolis, whose name was Petēsis, the father of Ergeus, standing up(?) said that he could finish all the work in a few days. Similarly the king asked the others also, and they said that he spoke the truth and that he (the king) would not find(?) such a man in any land. Therefore he set aside a large sum in payment for the before-mentioned work, and at the same time urged him to pursue the work in a few days as he (had promised) to finish, because it was the will of god. And taking much cash of Petēsis, he went off to Sebennytos. And it seemed best to him, being a wine-drinker by nature, to take it easy before starting the work. (col. V) And it happened that he was walking along the southern part of the temple he noticed the daughter of an unguent-maker who was most beautiful of form in that . . . (balance lost).

For discussion *cf.* p. 196.

24. *Excerpts from Dream-Reports of The Serapeum Papyri*

(Wilcken, *op. cit.* 353 ff.)

(From no. 77 Col. I–II)

The dream which Tages, the twin-sister saw on the 17th of Pachon (June 16). She thought that in her sleep she was coming down through the street, counting nine houses. I wanted to turn back. I said: "All these are at most nine." They say: "Yes, thou are free to go away!" [I said]: "It is late for me."

On the 29th of Pachon (June 28). Two men are working in the vestibule, and Taus (is seen) sitting on the staircase (or: ladder) and playing with them, and when she heard the voice of Chentosneu, she at once became black. They said that they would teach here [break]

The dream of Ptolemaios on the 15th day of Pachon (June 14, 161 B.C.). I thought that in my dream I was calling upon the most great Amon to come from north of me, being the third until he arrives. I thought that (I saw) a cow in that place and that she was in birth travail. He seizes the cow and puts her down (or: covers her over). He inserts his hand into her vulva and draws out a bull. What I saw in the dream, may it be well for me!

(From no. 78)

Ptolemaios to Damoxenos, greeting!
On the 14th I thought that I was in Alexandria on a great tower. I had a beautiful face and I did not want to show my face to anyone because it was beautiful. And an old woman sat beside me, and there was a crowd from north of me and from the east. They cry out that a man has been made into charcoal in many . . . and he says to me: "Wait a bit, and I will bring thee to the divine spirit (daimon) Knephis in order that thou mayest worship him." And I thought that I was saying to an elder: "Father, dost thou not see this vision which I have beheld?" I related (it) to him. He gave me two reeds. Looking quickly I saw Knephis. Rejoice all ye who are with me. Release soon comes to me.

(From no. 79)

In the 22nd (year) on the 5th of Parmuthi (May 4, 159 B.C.). The first dream which Nekthonbēs saw concerning the twin-sisters and myself: I saw Appolonios. He comes to me. He says: "Fair greetings, Nekthembēs (*sic*)!" The second (dream of the same night): . . . . The third (dream): I saw Ptole-

maios holding a sword in his hand (and) going through the street. He knocks on the door and it is opened. He came to blows(?) wishing to strike him. I say: "By no means do (this) or thou wilt destroy thy slave. A master does not destroy his own slave!" (The fourth dream): A woman sits on a mat, holding a child on the mat and another (woman or child ?) opposite her on another mat. I say to her: "Thy mat grows herbs and cabbage." She was sitting and not moving.

On the 24th of Pharmuthi (May 23, 159 B.C.). The dream which Nektombēs saw concerning the detainment of the twin-sisters and concerning myself that I am unlucky and concerning the house. He (read: I) thought a man said to me: "Bring me the skin of my foot!" I say: "I don't want to." The second (dream of the same night): I thought that the house was being cleaned with someone polishing it. The third (dream): I thought that (I saw) a dove. It had fled from my hand and I ran after it, saying: "I will not let it flee!" I catch it and put it into my left hand and held it tight and a palm-leaf lest it flee. The fourth (dream): I thought that (I saw) two women sitting with a man. They play with him and swear thus: "By holy Isis!"

For discussion *cf.* p. 228.

IV. HITTITE

25. *First Dream-Appearance of Ishtar*

(*MVAeG* 29(3): 6 ff. §3)

And while I was still a child, I was (only) a groom (literally: a "He-with-the-donkey-halter"). My Lady Ishtar sent my brother Muwatalli to my father Murshili in a dream (with the message): "There are only few (literally: short) years (to live) for Hattushili; he is not one to live (long); give him to me, he shall be my priest! Then he (shall stay) alive." My father took me, a (mere) child, and gave me to the goddess for (her) service.

For discussion *cf.* p. 197.

26. *Dream of Hattushili*

(*op. cit.* §4)

My brother Muwatalli named me for (an ordeal by means of) the sacred wheel.* My Lady Ishtar, however, appeared to me in a dream and said to me in the dream as follows: "Shall I abandon you to a (hostile) deity? Be not afraid!" And with (the help of) the goddess I was acquitted. Because the goddess, my Lady, held me by the hand, she never abandoned me to a hostile deity (or) an evil judgment.

For discussion *cf.* p. 197.

* According to the variant in *ABoT* p. X and no. 62 against Alp in *JCS* 6: 95 ff.

27. *Second Dream-Appearance of Ishtar*

(*op. cit.* §12)

Now, while my Lady Ishtar had even before this been promising me the kingship, at that time, my Lady Ishtar appeared to my wife in a dream (saying): "I shall assist your husband, and all Hattusha will be turned to the side of your husband. (Ever) since I brought him up, I did not, at any time, abandon him to an evil judgment (or) a hostile deity. Now, I will exalt him and make him the priest of the Sun-goddess of the town Arinna. And you too, make me your *paraššši* (patron-deity?)!" And my Lady Ishtar stood behind me, and whatever she promised me occurred.

For discussion *cf.* p. 197.

28. *Third Dream-Appearance of Ishtar*

(*op. cit.* §12)

To whatever nobles Urhi-Teshup had ever banished, my Lady Ishtar appeared in a dream (saying): "Aimlessly(?), you have tired yourselves out(?)! I, Ishtar, have turned all the lands of Hatti to the side of Hattushili!"

For discussion *cf.* pp. 199, 202.

29. *Another Dream of Hattushili*

(*op. cit.*, p. 46, *KBo VI* 29 I: 16–21)

Puduhepa, however, was a maid-servant of the Ishtar of the town Lawazantia and the daughter of Pentipšarri, the priest of Ishtar. And I did not marry her out of my own will(?), I took her upon the command of the goddess, the goddess entrusted her to me in a dream.

For discussion *cf.* p. 197.

30. *A Dream of The Queen*

(*KUB XV* 1 I: 1–11)

A dream of the queen: . . . the queen has made a vow in her dream to the goddess Hebat of the town Uda as follows: "If you, goddess, my lady, will have made well again His Majesty and not have him given over to the 'Evil,' I shall make a statue of gold for Hebat and I shall make her a rosette of gold. They shall call it 'Rosette of Hebat.' And I shall make a pectorale of gold for your breast. They shall call it 'Pectorale of the goddess.'"

For discussion *cf.* p. 193.

31. *A Dream of The Queen*

(*KUB XV* 1 III: 8–16)

. . . When the god Gurwashu said to the queen in a dream (as follows): "As to that matter which is on

your heart concerning your husband (I promise): He will live, I shall give him 100 years!" The queen made a vow in (her) dream as follows: "If you do thus for me and my husband remains alive, I shall give to the deity three *haršialli*-containers, one with oil, one with honey and one with fruits."

For discussion *cf.* p. 193.

32. *A Dream of The Queen*

(*KUB XV* 3 I: 17–20)

A dream of the queen: Somebody said again and again to me in a dream: "Make a vow to the goddess Ningal as follows: 'If that (disease) Fire-of-the-Feet of His Majesty will pass quickly I shall make for Ningal ten(?) *talla* (oil-flasks) of gold set with lapis lazuli!' "

For discussion *cf.* p. 193.

33. *A Dream of The King*

(*KUB XV* 5 III: 4–14)

A dream of His Majesty: When the lady Danu-Hepa said again and again to His Majesty (in a dream as follows): "When the Weather-god comes to heaven, he should not find you to be stingy(?)!" The king said: "I have already before made a golden *zaḫum*-ewer for the Weather-god!" The lady Danu-Hepa said: "It is not good (enough)!" and the king of Hakmish (i.e., Hattushili) said (in the dream to His Majesty): "Why did you not give the *ḫuḫupal*-instruments and the lapis lazuli stones which you have promised to him, to the Weather-god?"

Said the (priestess) Ḫepa-SUM: "One must give the *ḫuḫupal*-instruments and the lapis lazuli stones to the great deity."

For discussion *cf.* p. 193.

PART II

THE ASSYRIAN DREAM-BOOK

1. THE DREAM-OMINA FROM SUSA

The first section of this part is meant to introduce the reader to the two main problems connected with the Assyrian Dream-Book: the reconstruction of the text from the numerous fragments which the accidents of survival have placed at our disposal, and the development of the omen-collection from the Old Babylonian period on to its incorporation into the library of Assurbanipal.

More specifically, this section should first familiarize the reader with the characteristic style-features of that curious type of Mesopotamian literature which Assyriologists call omen-texts and then illustrate, by means of a translation of such a text found in Susa, the capital of Elam, the topical range and specific tenor of dream-omina within this literary genre.

Omen-texts, i.e., more or less systematically arranged collections of omina, are known from the late Old Babylonian period to the era of the Seleucid kings. They represent an important section of the scholarly literature in cuneiform and—above all—they seem to be an original product of the intellectual effort of the (Semitic) Akkadians, since no Sumerian omina have as yet been found.

Throughout the nearly one and a half millennia during which the omen-tradition was alive in Mesopotamia, these texts consistently followed a specific pattern as to the form of the individual units (the omina) as well as to the style of collecting and presenting these items.

As to the form-aspect, the arrangement of the individual entries within the collection follows the fundamental principle evolved by the Sumerian scribes whenever they strove to organize a large amount of individual data within the physical contingencies of their writing material, the clay tablet. Such data are consistently articulated in the form of lists composed of short single items stated in rigid uniformity. Each item is characterized as such by being given a new line in the enumeration, an arrangement which is very often stressed by means of a special symbol, a vertical wedge placed in front of the first sign in each line.

Originally evolved and used for data consisting of single signs or sign-combinations, this pattern was also applied to data consisting of several words (up to four and five) which were arranged in one line and either separated by vertical lines or carefully written in columns articulated by blank spaces. This system of distribution is well known from the so-called vocabularies which have grown out of one-column sign-lists into elaborate many-columned "lists" offering additional information such as Sumerian pronunciations, descriptions and/or names of the signs and Akkadian equivalents. Yet, each entry occupies only one line, and, wherever considerations of space have forced the scribe to expand an entry into a second line, he never fails to characterize this additional line as a continuation by means of indentation.

Even the earliest collections of omina arrange their individual entries in this way, i.e., with the mentioned initial symbol and with lines characterized by indentations and written with the obvious desire to distribute the words within each line in a uniform way (*cf.* presently for details), as a glance at the photographs offered on plates I–XIII will easily show.

The initial marker, i.e., the vertical wedge, has, however, quite frequently been subjected to variations which reflect the change of interpretation caused by the use of this symbol in the specific context of an omen. The scribes preferred to see in it the logogram for a syntactical element, in fact, for the particle "if," and replaced it at times by an artificial logogram BE (to be read *šumma* and often written for this reason BE-*ma*), or by the Sumerogram UD.(DA) "when," or even by a syllabically written *šum-ma*.[1] This change of interpretation could well have been suggested by the analogous development of the form-pattern dominating the wording of the various Sumerian and Akkadian law collections which led to the famous code of Hammurabi. The Sumerian tradition of introducing each law by t u k u m b i "if" likely influenced the Akkadian compilers of such collections to provide increasingly their casuistically formulated laws with the Akkadian equivalent of t u k u m b i, i.e., *šumma*. This trend is borne out by a comparison of the Eshnunna Code with that of Hammurabi (*cf.* simply *ANET* 161 ff. and 163 ff.) not only with regard to casuistically styled laws (the earlier collection shows a number of laws without the introductory *šumma*[2]) but also and much more so with regard to the regulations concerning wages, rents, and the prices of certain essential services. There the verbless phrases of the listings of the Eshnunna text clearly give way to a sequence of analogous minimal sentences styled in the Code as "cases," i.e., introduced by "if."

Turning now to the structure of the individual omina, we refer the reader to p. 239 where their division into two sections was pointed out: the protasis which states the "case" in the preterit (or the stative if a feature is described) and the apodosis which offers

[1] For a recent discussion of certain aspects of this problem, *cf.* F. R. Kraus in *Orientalia* NS 16: 176 ff.

[2] Nothing illustrates better the importance of the particle *šumma* than the fact that these laws were referred to as "the if's": *ḫi-im-mat šum-mi u mi-šá-ri* "collection of 'if's' and *mîšaru*-regulations (i.e., royal edicts to remedy a specific social and economic injustice)" in *Zimmern Beiträge* 97 no. 1–20 (A): 15.

the prognostic. As to the former it should be mentioned here that it is, as a rule, concisely styled in a stereotyped sequence of words which obviously attempts to describe similar situations in subsequent entries with a minimum of changes in the wording. The sequence of such entries tends consciously to vary the description in one point only in each item. This leads to the grouping of such items into sections, which constitutes a very welcome aid to our attempts to restore the breaks in the tablets. In fact, this style-feature often offers the key for the placing of even small fragments if only they contain the characteristic words of such groups. These words—which we shall call here "kennings"—allow us time and again to allocate fragments to specific tablets and thus will be of importance in our reconstruction of the Dream-Book and of the texts related to it.

Dividing lines are often, but not consistently, used to stress the sequence of specific topics in the arrangement of the omina within each tablet. This articulation of the content is only rarely disturbed by small groups of omina which seem to have been "attracted" by secondary and accidental associations of the editor. This peculiarity as well as the appearance of unrelated entries towards the end of the last column of a tablet demonstrate that the process of collecting and arranging is the result of editorial activities of the scribes who originally may have made use of a number of smaller collections which they either copied or excerpted to fill in a tablet of the series. The ensuing repetitions and inconsistencies have been perpetuated through the basic aspiration of Mesopotamian scholarship: the preservation of the text tradition.

The prognostications of the second part of each omen follow their own style-pattern. Apart from the division into public and private predictions (*cf.* above p. 239), we have to differentiate typical and atypical phrases. The latter, although rather rare, at times pose interesting problems. Within the dream-omina we will repeatedly observe (*cf.* below pp. 262, 272) a tendency towards repetitiousness in the apodoses of specific groups of omina which is difficult to explain. In a few instances we will come across apodoses which do not prognosticate but purport to explain the reason why a specific ominous event occurred. They then see in it the expression of divine irritation caused by misdeeds or sinful omissions of the person to whom the "sign" is given. For examples to be found in our Dream-Book, *cf.* pp. 263, 271.

The apodoses show another sign of the work of an editor by offering at times different predictions for the same protasis. These variants are often characterized as such by a *šum-ma*, i.e. "or (also)" and come obviously from different versions used by the compiling scribe.

The translations to be presented in this part are intended to render the above described features of this genre of texts as faithfully as is in keeping with the desire to make available a readable English translation. The synonymic in the phraseology of the prognostications will be carefully rendered, although not much insight can thus be gained into the complexities and the implications of their repertory of words and phrases. Only with regard to the protases has a liberty been taken. They are given in English as "if" sentences in the present tense, in spite of the fact that the Akkadian uses here the past tense.

In order to familiarize the reader with the contents and the style of dream omina, we bring forward here a translation of a tablet found in Susa and published (with photographs, hand-copy, transliteration, and translation) by V. Scheil in *MDP XIV:* 48 ff.) as "Tablette de présage." Although no mention is made in the extant text of dreams and dreaming, there is indisputable evidence that the omina are concerned exclusively with dreams (for details *cf.* below p. 259). In fact, the tablet contains a collection of dream-omina representing a tradition that differs only in a few points from the main tradition which is attested in Mesopotamia proper from the Middle Babylonian (Cassite) to the Neo-Assyrian period. We shall have to return presently (*cf.* p. 259) to the chronological problems connected with the Susa text.

The two-column tablet, which, as its paleographic features and its peculiar syllabary clearly show, was written by an Elamite scribe, cannot be dated with certainty. Although found in an excavation, no suggestion as to its date has been offered by the archeologist or his epigrapher. Written some time between the Old Babylonian period and the turn of the first millennium B.C., the tablet shows peculiarities which place it outside the pale of the strict traditionalism of Mesopotamian scribal schools, such as the sequence of the columns, which is radically different from the practices of Babylonia and Assyria, and the fact that the omina are not arranged in the customary manner, i.e., every entry starting a new line, but are written consecutively.

In the following translation, however, the text is set in the same way as in the translation of the Dream-Book (*cf.* p. 263) because this facilitates reading and brings to the fore better the principles of topical arrangement of the omina.

Col. I

(break and traces of one line)

If a man turns (*saḫāru* or *târu ana*) into a wild animal: [ ]

If a man turns into a lion: lo[sses and]

If a man turns into a lion and [ ] against [ ]: humiliation of the man (= the dreamer).

If a man [turns] into a do[g and(?) :] and the countries will . . . against him; the palace will see distress (KAL.SAL for SAL.KAL) and his crime/punishment [will be heavy(?)].

If a man has to do (*saḫāru itti*) with the king: for . . . [ ] will not reach him.
If a man does/is . . . (*šam-muḫ*) with a bull: his house will become prosperous.
If a man has to do with a bull and does/is . . . (*šam-muḫ*) the bull: he will acquire whatever the gods give to mankind to own.
If a man carries a sprout in his lap and kisses (it) repeatedly: this man will acquire barley and silver. But if (written: UD) it grows out of his lap: whatever he owns will be lost.
If the feet (DU) of a man are lame(?):[3] downfall of his ill-wisher.
If the eyes of a man do not see(?): for an important person (this means: (more) importance, for a poor person: (more) poverty, (also) an important person (1-*en* DUGUD) will be removed.
If a man is clad in the hide of a goat: an important person will be removed and will die.
If a man is clad in a . . . garment (and) . . .: the hand of the man . . . [ ] will (not?) reach him.
If a man is clad in a black garment: losses, [ ].
If the garment of a man is not . . .: for the . . . [ ].
If the mouth(?) of a man is . . .: for a rich man: (more) riches [for] a sick person: he will die.
If the curls(?)[4] of a man [ ].
If a man . . . [ ].
If a man enters into the door(?) and either the hou[se or]

(traces of four damaged lines mentioning repeatedly the sign provisionally rendered here as "door(?)")

(break)

Col. II

(break and five damaged lines)

[If a man] carries [ ]: he will become rich.
[If a man] carries [ ]: he will become poor.
If a man [carri]es a small child: he will become poor.
If a man carries a small . . . child: [ ].
If a man enters a ditch and does . . . into this ditch: his wife will commit adultery (lit.: they will sleep repeatedly with his wife).
If the house of a man [ ]: the palace will take(?) away his possessions.
If a man [ ]: the palace will find the hidden treasure.
If the hand(?) of a man [ ] and he carries (it) in his hands: for the [ ].
If the head of a man is cu[t off]: his [enemy?] will place his evil in front of him.
[If].
[If : his days] will be long.

(three damaged lines and break)

Col. III

(break and six damaged lines)

[If a man]: spell and evil [will].
If a man "goes" to a wild animal: [his house] will become prosperous.
If a man "goes" to hi[s] daughter: [ ], losses . . .
If a man "goes" to his mother-in-law: [ ].
If the belly of a man is open and his intestines entangled(?):[5] [his]s will be excessive.
If his intestines are not entangled(?): e[vil].
If a man flies repeatedly: whatever he owns will be lost.
If a man takes off and flies (once): for a subject (MAŠ.EN.DÙ) (it means): loss of good things, for a poor man: loss of poverty, he will see his good wish(es fulfilled).
If a man flies from the place he is standing on and (rises) towards the sky: to <this> man one will restore what he has lost.
If the penis of a man is long: he will have no r[iv]al.
If <the penis of> the man is abnormally long: whatever he owns will be lost.
If a man kisses his penis: whatever he orders will be obeyed; nothing he desires one will withhold.[6]
If a man travels repeatedly (with)in the country: distress (KAL.SAL for SAL.KAL) will follow distress (? ŠUB-*bu-qat*).
If a man travels repeatedly beyond the borders (*mêsiru*) of the country: he will become important.
If a man carries repeatedly *milḫu*: the god of the man will [ ].
If a man walks repeatedly through "light" water: he will experience either an easy lawsuit or a (light) disease.
If a man walks repeatedly through "heavy" water: he will experience either a difficult lawsuit or a (dangerous) disease.
If a man crosses <either> a river or a swamp and sinks down: . . . .

[3] For *tabku* describing in medical texts a specific pathological state of parts of the human body (hands, feet, ZAG, UZU and *minâtu*, i.e., limbs) *cf. Thompson AMT* 77, 1 I: 6, 48, 2: 2, 82, 2: 4, *Küchler, Beiträge* pl. XIV I: 30, etc.

[4] For *pappu* "curl" *cf. Kraus Physiogn. Omina* 100 and *Physiognomatik* index *s.v.*, also the Old Babylonian omen *YOS X* 17: 47 "If the IGI.BAR (i.e., the "flap" of the liver) is like a *pappum*. . . ." The *pappāt êni* "eye-lashes" (series i g i . t u ḫ I: 402) share their Sumerogram (m a . d a . l á) with *sasappu*, "goatee."

[5] *Cf.* for a parallel the following omen of the series *šumma izbu* describing ominous features of a newborn sheep: "If the belly of the foetus is open and its intestines are entangled (*patlu*) . . ." in *CT XXVII* 44: 3 (also *ibid.* 47: 21). Note furthermore the omen text *BRM IV* 13 dealing with the formation of the intestines (*tîrānu*) of the sacrificial animal which uses in line 26 the comparison "entangled (*patlu*) like a *pitiltu* (i.e., entangled skein)" to describe a specific formation of the coils.

[6] An atypical prognostication: *šà i-qa-ab-bu-ú im-ma-gar mi-im-ma šà iḫ-ši-ḫu ul i-kal-lu-šu.*

If a man sinks down in a river [ ].

(two damaged lines and break)

Col. IV

(break and two damaged lines)

If a man from [ ]: this man [will] his possessions [will].

If a man [in his dream] ascends [to heaven] and the go[ds bless him: this man] will die.

If a man [in his dream] ascends [to heaven] and the gods [curse him: this man will live long].

[If a man] in his [dr]eam descends to the netherworld: for the rich [(it means more) riches, for] the poor: (more) poverty.

If a man descends to the netherworld and the dead bless him: this man will die and will not be buried in [his] c[ountry].

If a man descends to the netherworld and the dead rejoice over him: for the rich [(it means):], for the subject: sorrow.

If a man descends to the netherworld and the dead curse him: upon [ ] will be the one who blesses him.

If a man kisses a dead person: he will stand up (in court) against his adversary.

If a dead person kisses a man: one near(?) to him [will die(?)].

If a [dead person] . . . the man: obtaining of property.

If a man kisses [a dead] and his lip [ ].

(One damaged line and break)

The omina dealing with flying in dreams, those concerned with the meeting with the dead, as well as the reference to walking in respectively "heavy" and "light" water correspond exactly to passages which happen to be preserved in the Neo-Assyrian copies of our series. *Cf.* for these passages below pp. 283 and 287 f. In certain instances, the two versions run exactly parallel and allow us even to restore breaks in both texts. Then there are groups of omina in the Susa text which contain the same "kenning" as those of the Neo-Assyrian series, such as *našı* "he carries" to which only a few lines are given in the older text, while it occupies much more space in the later version (*cf.* below pp. 288 f.). The section on rivers, etc., has likewise grown considerably (*cf.* pp. 287 f.), which is true also of the dream-omina derived from travelling (*cf.* pp. 267 ff). Of course, we are greatly hampered by the accidents of survival: the Susa text, e.g., has a group of omina concerning the dress in which a dreaming person sees himself, but this topic is attested only in a catchline of the Nineveh version of our series (*cf.* p. 262 and note 205).

If one compares the topics discussed in these two sources, one notices the absence in the extant Kouyundjik-material of dreams dealing with sex life, with the changing of the dreaming person into animals, or with specific, more or less abnormal, bodily features (*cf.*, however, p. 289), while the broken sections of the Susa tablet probably contained dreams of eating and drinking, bodily functions, receiving and manufacturing or handling of objects and tools, cutting down trees and other occupations within the everyday sphere of human activities as far as these happen to be mentioned in the extant Neo-Assyrian fragments of the Dream-Book.

Due allowance must, of course, be made for the broken state of both sources, yet one can hardly fail to be under the impression that the Susa tablet —whatever its date (*cf.* presently)—belongs to the same tradition which culminated in the copies of the Dream-Book kept in the library of Assurbanipal. This in spite of certain provincial peculiarities of the text and in spite of its being, most likely, only an excerpt of the larger series. The latter problem, however, cannot be decided, because we are unable to establish the chronological aspect with any certainty. If the Susa tablet is relatively recent, it has to be considered an excerpt, but if it goes back to the late Old Babylonian period, it could well represent a small collection of the type used later by the scribes to compile the series which were then "frozen" by the tradition-minded copyists of the subsequent periods.

One point speaks in favor of an older origin or, at least, in favor of the existence of a Susian tradition which might have kept an older version intact for a longer period. This is the atypical wording of the apodosis (col. I, "he will acquire whatever the gods give mankind to own," which quotes *verbatim* a phrase known only from the Old Babylonian legal documents found in Susa. There, two contracts dealing with the division of property, *MDP XXII* 12 and *XXIII* 171, use, in enumerating valuables, the following rather quaint formula after the customary "barley, silver, gold": *mi-im-ma šà* DINGIR *a-na a-we-lu-ti a-na ra-še-e id-di-nu* "whatever the god has given to mankind to own." In the dream-tablet this same phrase reads *mi-im-ma šà* DINGIR ŠÈ *a-we-lu-ti* ŠÈ *ra-še-e* SUM(!)-*nu*. Since this sentence is as alien to the phraseology of the omen-literature as it is to the inventory of legal formulae outside of Susa, one may well see in it a characteristic Elamite element which allows us to connect in time the legal texts and the omen-collection, linked together as they are by their provenience.

Yet, all this is still too tenuous to allow any deductions as to the position of the Susa dream-omina within the tradition which eventually yielded our series. More important in this respect is the tablet of which we publish here the obverse, according to the photo, Babylon 36383 (*cf.* pl. V and p. 313 f.), now in the possession of the Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft, Berlin. The original—as well as the photograph of the re-

verse—is unfortunately lost but the tablet is known to have been excavated in Babylon in Cassite levels.

The obverse of this tablet represents an early version of the ninth tablet of the series *Ziqīqu*, i.e., our Dream-Book. This is clearly shown by its *incipit* (in fact its first two lines are the same as on the Kuyundjik fragment *K.* 25, *cf.* below p. 267) and by the list of geographical names containing in each line the "kenning" GIN, i.e., "he went." One of these lines corresponds *verbatim* to the omen which mentions the same city in the Neo-Assyrian text (*cf.* p. 269 line x + 21).

There are, however, some important differences between these two tablets in the geographical names as well as in the sequence of topics. It stands to reason that the names of cities and countries to which a person sees himself travel in his dreams may shed a revealing light on the geographical horizon of the period and thus help date the text. While the Kouyundjik text starts with Nippur and Babylon and enumerates—after a ten-line gap—a number of cities within the traditional region of Sumer and Babylon and—after a larger gap—mentions Egypt as well as Upper Syria (called in Neo-Assyrian Hatti), the list of the Middle Babylonian (i.e., Cassite) version shows an entirely different geographical perimeter. It seems to mention cities along the Euphrates as far as Palestine progressing apparently through Syria. Known and localized are Luḫaiat,[7] Sippar, Rapiqum, the famous Mari, Emar[8] (near Aleppo), Aleppo, Qatna and—as terminal point—Hazur. We are led into a different region, probably Northern Mesopotamia, by the geographical names Kurda and Karanā, the latter also known from Nuzi texts.[9] Still unexplained (i.e., unidentified) in this list are *Ki-i-la*, *Ḫa-am-ba-ri* and *Id-da-an* (or: *Id-ra-an*); the latter happens to be preserved (in a different context) also on a fragment of the ninth tablet of the series. It is rather obvious that the names of the Middle Babylonian list reflect the geographical setting of the period well-attested by the diplomatic correspondence found in the archives of the palace in Mari. Since epoch-making political and military catastrophes separate the Mari period from that of the Cassite rulers, the original of our text must have been written in that time or go back to the omina-collections which were made in the second half of the rule of the Hammurabi dynasty. It is less likely, but not excluded, that the names of the "Mari geography" were only added in that period to bring older collections of "travel-dreams" up to date, as was done in other instances, evidently, by the Neo-Assyrian scribes or their predecessors (*cf.* pp. 268 f).

Be this as it may, it remains very important that our Middle Babylonian tablet begins with the same line as does the ninth tablet of the series *Ziqīqu*, which shows that the series as such was already organized in tablets that correspond (at least in one point) to those of the Neo-Assyrian period.

Next we have to turn to the remains of the Dream-Book found in Assur. Here we have two small fragments, *KAR* 470 and *VAT* 14279 (which is published here on pl. X; *cf.* pp. 313 f.). The former tablet comes from the section of our Dream-Book that we call provisionally Tablet B, containing dreams in which objects were given to the dreaming person. The "kenning" on the Kouyundjik tablet (*cf.* below p. 276) is consistently SUM-*šú* while the Assur-fragment (i.e. *KAR* 470) shows a row of thirteen lines with SUM-*nu-šú* and little else. In spite of the difference in writing, this fragment bears witness to the fact that the Assur-library already contained texts very similar to the final redaction of the series. It could even be said that the series existed already then and there in its final form, because the fragment *VAT* 14279 (*cf.* above) contains likewise omina with our "kenning" (written SUM-*šú*) and allows us to restore a break in a Kouyundjik tablet (*cf.* for details below p. 278). The arrangement of the lines within the individual tablets was somewhat different, but in any other respect the series *Ziqīqu* was already "canonified" in Assur.

Apart from the Assur fragments containing omina that have been mentioned, we have one large tablet (*KAR* 252) and two smaller ones (*KAR* 52 and *LKA* 182) which show only rituals and correspond thus to the ritual-tablets of the series (*cf.* pp. 295 ff. for pertinent details). We shall, however, revert to the difficult problem posed by these three Assur tablets in connection with an attempt to investigate the text-history of our Dream-Book on p. 296.

For the sake of completeness, there should be mentioned here the fragment *K.* 14884 (*cf.* p. 275) which comes from Kouyundjik but was written—as the colophon indicates—in the time of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.), i.e. about two centuries earlier. It is too badly worn and too small to allow more than the statement that it attests to the continuation of the dream-omina tradition. For a discussion, *cf.* below p. 275.

These observations concerning the rise and the development of the text tradition which yielded eventually the Dream-Book cover only one aspect of the history of this work. We will investigate later on (*cf.* p. 296) the problem of the composition of our text in order to cover another essential aspect: the indi-

[7] This locality on the Araḫtu-canal is known only from a year-date of Abi-ešuḫ (grandson of Ḫammurabi) which commemorates its rebuilding by this king (*Ungnad Datenlisten* no. 204). This reference and some information concerning the geographical names of the present fragment, I owe to Mr. J.-R. Kupper, University of Liège.

[8] For Emar/Imar known from the Old Babylonian letter *CT XXXIII* 22, from the inscription of the king Idrimi (*cf. Smith Idrimi*) *cf.* now also the evidence in *Wiseman Alalakh*, index s.v.

[9] The name of the town Karanâ (*cf.* also *KAJ* 310:16) is written in the texts from Nuzi as URU GEŠTIN.NA (*cf. HSS XIII* 455:11, *XIV* 56:25, 78:13, etc.) probably owing to a popular etymology as "Wine-Town." *Cf.* for a "Wine-Country" p. 269.

vidual developments of the two essential parts of the Dream-Book, omina and rituals. The outcome of these investigations will eventually be discussed in the light of the statements made above (p. 242) concerning the role of oneiromancy within the mantic tradition of Semitic Mesopotamia. Then only will we be ready to advance a theory about the history of this literary document.

2. THE SERIES *dZiqīqu*

The copy or copies of the Assyrian Dream-Book that were part of the great library of Assurbanipal were inscribed on a number of clay tablets forming what is termed in the language of Mesopotamian scholars and librarians a "series" (*iškaru*).

All literary compositions in cuneiform which on account of their length cannot be written upon the two sides of one (library-size) tablet are distributed over two or more tablets—the highest known number is 181 tablets (*K.* 3507: rev. 13 = Langdon *JRAS* 1929: 778 f.) Each of these tablets is provided with certain phrases in standardized wording and sequence containing the essential information offered in a modern book on its title page. These statements appear always at the bottom of the reverse of the individual tablet and concern (*a*) the title given to the entire "series"—as a rule the *incipit* of the first tablet—and (*b*) the position of the specific tablet within the series, expressed by numbers followed by the remark, "(series) not finished" or "finished" or also by the first words of the subsequent tablet, the so-called "catch-line." Such a colophon indicates furthermore the owner of the tablet and is often accompanied by the name of the scribe and the date. It moreover makes reference in stereotyped formulae to the original from which the present text is copied, collated, etc. There quite frequently follow invocations and curses against anyone who would steal the tablet or remove it for other reasons from the bundle in which it is customarily stored (and secured by library tags[10]) on the shelves of the library.

Obviously, a reconstruction of our Dream-Book has to be based primarily on those extant fragments which happen to contain such "subscriptions" either fully or in part. This should allow us to establish the sequence of the tablets within the series and also, to a certain degree, the topics discussed on the individual tablets. To these topics can then be assigned in a more or less provisional way those fragments which lack the colophon.

All this will be attempted in the present section. The unassigned fragments will be presented in the third section of this part.

[10] Such tags are preserved in a few instances; *cf.* from the library of Assurbanipal *K.* 1539 (*Craig AAT*, pl. 1, DIŠ UD AN^{d}E[N.LÍL] *liq-ta-a-*[*te*] "(Series) When the gods Anu (and) En[lil], collection" and *K.* 1400 DIŠ URU *ina* SUKUD GAR-*in liq-ta-a-te* "(Series) When a town is situated upon an elevation, collection."

Among the nearly eighty, mostly unpublished,[11] fragments at our disposal, there are only six with preserved colophons.[12] These are *K.* 3758, 3820, 4017, 6267, 12638 and 14216, which the list of fragments on p. 346 ff. will help the reader to locate among the photographs, the translations given throughout the present part, and the transliterations offered in the appendix to it.

The enumerated fragments contain either the number of the tablet or the *incipit* of the next or also the first line of the tablet to which the colophon belongs. Thus, in a number of instances, the same fragment may offer us two *incipits*.

Because it is the consequence of a specific scribal technicality, this situation requires an explanatory remark. The Mesopotamian scribes turned their tablets consistently around a horizontal axis after they finished inscribing the obverse, which they did either in a single column or in two or more columns proceeding always from the left to the right. On the reverse of the tablet, however, the sequence of columns on tablets which have more than one column progresses in the opposite direction, i.e., from right towards left. The practice[13] of turning the tablet in a way which

[11] For a survey of the few published (or partly published) fragments *cf.* the list on p. 346 ff. Even those dream-omina which have actually been published and studied have not fared any too well. They have consistently been presented together with omen-texts which have nothing to do with dreams and the resulting picture offered in Assyriological literature as representing Mesopotamian oneiromancy has thus become hopelessly distorted. One can observe examples of confusion from a remark of Boissier in *Revue Sémitique* 1: 170, n. 4 onward to G. Contenau's presentation of "Oneiromancie" (especially pp. 152, 155–6, 160) in his *La divination chez les Assyriens et les Babyloniens* (Paris, Payot, 1941). See furthermore *Boissier Choix de textes* 2: 11, 21, 28, 46, 53, who commits this error repeatedly, as do Budge (*CT XXVII*, introduction), M. Jastrow jr. (*Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* 2: 953, 958 ff., Giessen, Töpelmann, 1905–1912), Langdon (*Museum Journal* 8: 116 ff.) and Meissner (*Babylonien und Assyrien* 2: 266 n. 2).

[12] The colophons of our series are not quite uniformly styled. The words "xth tablet, series *dZiqīqu*" (DUB.x.KAM.(MA) ÉŠ. QAR *dZi-qi-qu*) are followed by "property (lit.: palace) of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, king of the totality." The tablets I (*K.* 3758), II (*K.* 12638), III (*K.* 4017) and X (*K.* 4103) write the word "palace" as É.GAL, while tablets IV (*K.* 14216) and VII (*K.* 6267) have the variant KUR with the same meaning.

K. 14216 (tablet IV) shows traces of three more damaged lines which, with the help of numerous extant subscriptions of this type, can be reconstructed as follows: "Property of [Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, king of the totality] whom the gods Nabû and [Tashmêtu have presented with intelligence (lit.: a wide ear)], who has [keen eyes. The highest level of the scribal lore which among] the kings [my predecessors none has ever reached, the very art of the god Nabû, whatever kind of wedge-writing there existed, I could write upon tablets, etc.]."

[13] The habit of turning the clay tablet in this way is already attested in the oldest intelligible cuneiform documents (*cf.* A. Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk* 11 f., Berlin, Harrassowitz, 1936); the last column of the obverse (where the sequence is from left to right) was continued over the lower edge into the reverse and compelled the scribe to continue the subsequent columns towards the left.

makes the lower edge of the obverse become the upper edge of the reverse, and the contrasting sequences of the columns on obverse and reverse, combine to have the following result: the first and the last lines of a tablet are inscribed upon the opposing sides of the same section of it. Hence, any fragment which happens to come from the upper left corner of the obverse (which is the lower left of the reverse) offers us—whenever both faces are extant—two important pieces of information: the first line of the tablet on the obverse and the colophon on the reverse which yields the number of the tablet and the *incipit* of the next.

The six fragments which have just been listed give us the *incipits* and the numbering of the following tablets:

Tablet No.	*Incipit*	Fragment
I	Ziqīqu, Ziqīqu, God Dream, god of [dreams]	*K.* 3758
II	If a man in his dream [ ] to [ ]	*K.* 3758
III	If a man in his dream makes a door	*K.* 12638 and *K.* 3941+
IV	If a man in his dream is clad in silver	*K.* 3941+
V	If a man in [his dream]	*K.* 14216
	(Tablet VI is not extant)	
VII	[If a man in his dream]	*K.* 3980
VIII	If a man in his dream sees the god Enlil: long old age.	*K.* 6267
IX	If a man in his dream enters the main gate of his city	*K.* 2582
X	If he sleeps on his right side and the dream he sees is confused	*K.* 3820
XI	If a man h[as] confused dreams	*K.* 4103

This list allows us to make a number of deductions. It shows first that the Dream-Book contained certainly eleven but possibly (although unlikely) twelve tablets. Of these the first and the last two (assuming that eleven is the final number of tablets) do not enumerate omina but contain prayers, conjurations, rituals, etc. The series consists, therefore, of two different literary types of texts: omina and rituals. In this and the next section we shall concentrate on the omina proper, i.e., on Tablets II to IX, while section 4 will be dedicated to a study of the rituals as they appear on the Tablets I, X, and XI.

Of the eight tablets of the omen-collection we know the *incipits* of five (i.e., Tablets II, III, IV, VIII, and IX); on two more (Tablets V and VII) these lines are too much damaged to be of any use, and one *incipit*—or as the Sumerian term goes: SAG.DUB, i.e. "head(line of) the tablet"—is completely missing (Tablet VI).

A much less satisfying picture presents itself when one realizes that of three of the five tablets with known "head-lines" only these lines are extant. Of the Tablets II (*K.* 12638), IV (*K.* 14216) and VIII (*K.* 6267) nothing but the quoted lines are preserved. As to the two remaining tablets, of no. III we have about twenty-five lines and of no. IX about one fourth of the original content. The latter is likewise the case with regard to Tablet IX. In sum, the result of this survey is rather disappointing. Only a relatively small number of dream-omina can be definitely located within the series; many more belong to the tablets which are intimately related in content and structure to the Dream-Book and almost certainly are part of it but cannot be allocated definitely. For possibilities and suggestions, *cf.* below p. 281.

Tablet II

Nothing preserved but the *incipit* ("If a man in his dream [goes(?)] to [ ]") on the colophon of the first tablet (*K.* 3758) and some signs on the last lines of the small fragment *K.* 12638. For the possibility that Tablet C could be considered a copy of Tablet II, *cf.* below p. 281.

Tablet III

This is extant in two joint fragments (*K.* 3941 and *K.* 4017) which represent the upper left corner of a two-column (less likely a three-column) tablet. The join shows twenty-two lines of the first, seventeen lines of the second column of the obverse and the last seven lines of the last column of the reverse. Since the columns usually contain about seventy to eighty lines, only less than twenty per cent of the original are at our disposal or ten per cent if the tablet had three columns.

As to the topic of the dreams collected in this tablet, it is rather difficult to give even an approximate characterization of their variety. What is left deals with what one might term "various everyday activities" since the "kenning" of the first column seems to be "to build/make" followed by sundry activities of craftsmen, that of the second "to sit" on various chairs and in various localities, while the few lines left on the reverse deal with plows and plowing. In contradistinction to most of the other tablets of the series which concentrate clearly on specific topics, the third tablet seems to have a rather mottled composition. It is, therefore, possible and even likely that the unallocated fragments (presented on pp. 291 ff.) dealing with a variety of activities taken from everyday life belong in fact to Tablet III. *Cf.* the pertinent discussion on p. 291.

If a man in his dream makes a door: the "evil-demon" will head (for him).
If he makes a chair: the "evil-demon" will head (for him).
If he makes a bed: the "evil-demon" will head (for him). [5]
If he makes a table: the "evil-demon" will head (for him).
If he makes a stool: the "evil-demon" will head (for him).
If he makes a boat: the "evil-demon" will head (for him).

The apodoses of these omina refer to the good or bad luck the dream is thought to prognosticate with the very unusual phrase: "the demonic being called *mukîl rêš limutti* will go straightaway (to the dreamer)." The name of the demon means probably "he who offers (or: has ready) the bad things (of life)." He is mentioned in enumerations of demonic figures (Gurney, *AAA* **22**: 42 ff. I: 7), in apotropaic rituals (e.g., *KAR* 298: rev. 15, also *KAR* 58: 44), as the cause of diseases (*Thompson AMT* 34, 6: 4, 96, 3: 2) and even as actually observed in certain localities (*CT XXIX* 48 f.: 18, 33). Although a comparison with certain aspects of the Greek *eudaimon* and *kakodaimon* seems superficially possible, it cannot and should not be attempted: this would involve the discussion of a very complex and little-known aspect of the religious experience of Mesopotamian man: the concept of good and bad luck in relation to, or as expression of, the congenital "status" of the individual. This, however, would be definitely outside the scope of this book. Suffice it to state that the idiomatic phrases of the apodoses under discussion refer in a specific way to impending fortunate or unfortunate events. For similar expressions characteristic of our type of literature, *cf.* below note 39.

Before turning to the next group of omina, attention should be drawn to the preference of the Dream-Book for a certain monotony in the repertory of the predictions, as exemplified in the first six lines of the present tablet. The repeated use of stereotyped phrases, especially of phrases which do not recur in other omen-texts, will be observed time and again (*cf.* above p. 257) and could well be interpreted as the expression of the lack of interest in oneiromancy within the general development of Mesopotamian divination-techniques (*cf.* for this problem above pp. 199, 238, 242). Maintained apparently more out of a scholarly interest than for practical purposes, the phraseology of our series seems not to have participated in the evolution which with pedantic care standardized, e.g., the large and important series *šumma âlu* and *enūma Anu Enlil* (astrology).

If he does the work of a night . . .:[14] his (personal) god will strip him (of his wealth(?)).[15]
If he does the work of a leather-worker: (his) riches will vanish (lit.: become poor).
If he does the work of a . . . leather-worker: the god Shamash has (a claim for) a vow (which was neglected) against him. [10]
If he does the work of a *purkullu*-seal-cutter:[16] his son will die.
If he does the work of a washer/fuller: for the poor (*muškênu*) (it means) his misfortunes will leave him.
If he does the work of a carpenter: confusion of soul, decrease is in store for him. [15]
If he does the work of a [sa]ilor: the god Enlil has (a claim for) a vow (which was neglected) against him.

(balance of column lost[17]).

The selection as well as the sequence of the professions enumerated in the preceding lines should be pointed out, because all cuneiform omen-collections strive to offer at such occasions sequences of words which are prepared with painstaking consideration. For such examples in our series, *cf.* p. 277 for an enumeration of trees, p. 268 for cities, p. 278 for viands,

[14] According to the vocabulary LÚ = *ša* II: 11 LÚ.GE$_6$.(A).GIN.GIN has the Akkadian correspondence *ḫā'iṭu* which suggests the reading *ḫā'iṭūtu* for our passage. The context in the series is not quite clear but gives the impression that the LÚ.GE$_6$.(A).GIN.GIN was some sort of official rather than a night watchman listed five lines later (LÚ.EN.NU.UN.GE$_6$.A = KI.MIN (*ma-ṣar*) *mu-ú-ši*). This impression is supported by the Old Babylonian legal text published by W. F. Leemans, *Legal and Economic Records from the Kingdom of Larsa*, no. 4: 23, Leiden, Brill, 1954. Another document of this period mentions a canal called PA$_5$.LÚ.GE$_6$.GIN.GIN (*YOS VIII* 65 case: 9). However, neither the interpretation of this designation as that of an official nor as that of a person strolling around at night—as the Sumerian definitely indicates—makes sense in the Dream-Book passage where a term referring to a craftsman is required.

[15] This unique apodosis offers another reference for *ḫummuṣu* "to rob (a house), to strip (the garment off) a person, to wrong a person"; *cf.* Meissner, *MAOG* **11** (1–2): 35 ff., also Middle Assyrian laws, section N (*AfO* **12** pl. VI/2) lines x + 3 and 7, group vocabulary E r i m . ḫ u š V: 187–189 showing *šuḫḫuṭu*, *ḫummuṣu* and *tabālu* within the same semantic group.

[16] The *purkullu*, also *parkullu* (Sum.: BUR.GUL) was originally a craftsman who cut seals (*cf. CT XXXVII* 24 iv 6 where he shares the Sumerogram with the stone cutter), worked on stone-reliefs (*cf.* LÚ.ALAM.GU.Ú = *pur-kul-[lu]* in the series a n . t a . g á l C: 257) and stone-vases (*Reisner SBH* 31: 11/12 and *PBS X/2* no. 15:8).

In the Neo-Assyrian period, however, the embossing of the metal-plating on palace and temple doors seems to have fallen within the competency of this artist; *cf.* Esarhaddon *BA III*: 236: rev. 29 and the letters *Harper ABL* 429: 9, 592: 6. Our text refers most likely to the seal-cutter on account of the prognostics. *Cf.* also p. 277.

[17] Among the broken apodoses, we find KUG.AN which is rare in omen contexts. *Cf.* from the series *šumma âlu*, KUG.AN URU-*šú* KÚ "he will eat what is taboo in his city" (*CT XXXVIII* 36: 77) or EN É.BI *ina me-ši-it-ti u a-sa-ak-ki* UG$_6$ "the owner of this house will die through a stroke or the *asakku*" (*CT XL* 3: 62, and *passim*).

p. 272 for fruit, etc. These sequences are the outcome of secondary elaborations concocted by the scribal collectors to increase the range of the omen-collection and thus to meet—theoretically—all possible occurring situations. The lack of elaboration in selection and sequence of these professions on our tablet contrasts with the pedantry which similar enumerations on other tablets of our series bespeak.

At the top of the second column of the obverse, we find a group of twelve omina which apparently belongs to a section characterized by the "kenning" *ašib* "he is seated." The dreams discussed here deal either with various localities where a person sees himself sit or with objects on which he is sitting. The section started certainly with *kussû*, the word for chair, but our extant text begins with *littu* "stool":

If he (in his dream) sits on a stool: [ ], he will . . . the king [ ].
If he sits on a *papannu*:[18] oppr[ession[19]].
If he sits on an AB.GI.NA:[20] [he will stand] in triu[mph].[21]
If he sits on reed:[22] . . . [ ], his good luck [will leave him]. [5]
If he sits on the ground: honors[23] [are in store for him(?)].
If he sits on an elevation: [ ].
If he sits in a depression: [ ]. [10]
If he sits in a swamp: [ ].
If he sits in the assembly: [ ].
If he sits in the squ[are before his town(?): his] go[od luck].

The balance of this column, the entire first column of the reverse and all but the last six omina of the second column are lost. An entirely different topic is attested in these concluding omina of the present tablet: the use of the seeder-plow, that ingenious Mesopotamian device which in one action opens the furrow and drops the seed into it.

If he (in his dream) [takes a] p[low and se]eds [barley:].
If he takes a plow but does not se[ed] barley: [ ].
If he takes a plow, seeds barley [and].
If he plows the earth with a plow: [ ].
If he plows with his plow in the center of a city: [ ] confusion. [x + 5]
If [he plants] in the center of a city onions, SIKIL-onions [and]: shortage(?) of food [ ].

The three topics on the accidentally preserved parts of Tablet III are united by the fact that they all refer to everyday activities and are devoid of any dream-like features. This is likewise the case with the rather large fragment *K.* 9945+ (translated on p. 291) which contains a series of topics of the same nature and belongs possibly to our tablet. This, however, cannot be proved by actually joining the fragments.

Tablet IV

Nothing preserved but the *incipit* ("If a man in his dream is clad in silver") on the colophon of the third tablet (*K.* 4017).

Tablet V

Nothing preserved but the beginning of the *incipit* ("If a man in [his dream]") on the colophon of the fourth tablet (*K.* 14216).

Tablet VI

Lost: *cf.* p. 281.

Tablet VII

Here—for the first time—we are faced with a type of problem that will concern us repeatedly in the course of the reconstruction of the Dream-Book. We have two fragments at our disposal, one which contains the colophon, and the other which, according to its content and specific paleographic features, belongs to the same tablet but cannot be—physically—joined. The former, *K.* 6267, shows on its obverse the ends of about twenty lines of the first column beginning quite near the upper edge of the tablet; the reverse offers a good-sized portion of two columns with the colophon. In these two columns we have, on the right, twenty-nine lines (partly broken), in the left and last, four lines before the colophon. Most of the upper section of this last column is preserved on the joint fragments *K.* 3980 plus *K.* 6399 which hold about twenty-five lines. The narrowness of the column suggests that the original tablet had three

[18] Unknown word.

[19] The term *naspantu* appears normally in the phrase *abūb naspanti* to describe a flood which levels everything. But the term acquired also the meaning which the translation "oppression" attempts to render. *Cf.* e.g. from the omen-literature LUGAL *dannu* "strong king" explained in *Virolleaud ACh*, Ishtar, Suppl. 2 LVII: 20 LUGAL *na-ás-pan-ti ina* KUR GÁL-*ši* "an oppressive king will be in the country" (*cf.* note 72 for a parallel instance of an implied rejection of a too powerful and tyrannical king), or the explanatory gloss *ka-šu-šu na-as-pan-*[*tu*] in *CT XXX* 9: 11 (extispicy).

[20] Unknown Sumerogram.

[21] *Cf.* for this apodosis, note 163.

[22] The proposed translation assumes that *urbatu* "reed, rush" with the determinative GIŠ may refer to some kind of reed-covered stool or the like.

[23] DUGUD SAG.DU stands here for *ka-bat* SAG.DU (as in *CT XXVIII* 28: 15), and the phrase has to be restored after *Kraus Physiognomatik* no. 24: 12 to DUGUD SAG.DU [TUK-*ši*]. The idiom *kabātu qaqqad* (or *rêš*) of a person "to honor somebody" is rare in omen texts but attested in Old Babylonian private letters and in proverbs. The contrasting idiom *qalālu qaqqad* PN is known from an isolated apodosis of an astrological omen (*Virolleaud ACh*, Shamash IV: 13). The "physiognomatic" omen *KAR* 395: 17 replaces SAG.DU in connection with *kabātu* by SAG.KI, i.e., *pûtu* for *qaqqadu*.

columns on each side; of these are extant what amounts to about the content of one column, in other words, a little more than fifteen per cent.

Two reasons entitle us to place the fragment *K.* 3980+ in the upper part of the last column: its content, which deals with the same topic as the lower part of the preceding column, and the fact that, owing to the narrowness of the columns, the second and third lines of the omen-sentences which exceed the space of one line are written deeply indented.

To begin with the omina on the better preserved reverse, that is the fifth and sixth columns, all extant lines deal with KÀŠ, i.e., "urine," and we have, as is consistently the case in our series, to substitute the phrase "(If a man) in his dream" in each protasis. On *K.* 6267+ we read, after a break:

[ ]: h[is] days [will be long/short].
If his urine [expands(?)] in front of (his) penis and [ ] the wall: [he will not have] sons. [x + 5]
If his urine ex[pands] in front of (his) penis and [ ] the wall, the street: he will h[ave] sons.
If his urine expa[nds] in front of (his) penis and f[ills(?) all] the streets: his property will be robb[ed] and given to the city [ ]. [x + 10]
If his urine expands in front of (his) penis [and] he does obeisance in front of his urine: he will beget a son and he (i.e., the son) will be king. [x + 15]

Here we have come upon one of the rather rare passages in the Dream-Book out of which speaks the universal language of symbols. It is certainly no accident that the prognostics in the omina of this (and the subsequent) group have to do almost exclusively with progeny. This in itself reflects a subconscious understanding of the symbol background of dream-interpretation extremely rare in such texts—outside the orbit of myth and poetry. The feature of the urine flooding the streets bears the stamp of a genuine dream-experience and the obvious identification of urine and offspring, i.e., *semen*, must be taken to be the expression of so-called infantile theories concerning sex (*cf.* for other examples above p. 194). The *proskynesis* performed by the dreamer in front of his urine is interpreted with unusual determination. In fact, the prediction that somebody will become king is without a parallel in the entire omen-literature from Mesopotamia.

The topic of this group of dream-omina as well as the specific prediction of the last omen reminds one of the famous dream of the Persian queen, Mandane, the mother of Astyages (Herodotus 1: 107 ff.). According to Ktesias' report of this incident, she dreamt that she urinated in such quantities that she flooded the entire town and even all of Asia, while Herodotus' account transfers the dream to the father of the queen. Quite in keeping with the associations reflected in our Dream-Book passage, this is interpreted as predicting the birth of a great ruler.

Of the group of six omina which follows, three are only partially preserved (the others being broken, except for the first few signs), enough, however, to show that all these omina belong to one group:

If (in his dream) he urinates (lit.: urinates his urine) on a wall[24] and over [ ]: he will h[ave] sons.
If he urinates over small reeds: [he will (not) have] sons. [x + 20]
If he urinates and [ ].

(of the next three omina only the first words are extant)

The position of the fragment *K.* 3980+ within the upper part of the last column can approximately be established because line x + 20 marks the thickest part of the fragment, hence the center of the tablet. About fifteen to twenty lines seem to be broken off at the top and consequently one has to assume a gap of about five lines between this fragment and the first lines of *K.* 6267+.

After two damaged KI.MIN-lines, i.e., lines which refer to the preceding protasis by means of the *ditto* symbol (in Sumerian: KI.MIN), a group of nine (or more) omina appears:

If he [ ]s his urine with his foot: his eldest son will d[ie].
If he washes his hands in his urine: he will enjoy (lit.: eat) little.[25] [x + 5]
If he sprinkles (himself) with his urine: his (sheep)-fold will expand.
If he sprinkles (himself) with his urine and wipes himself (clean): (the disease called) "Hand-of-Ishtar."
If he directs his urine towards the sky: the son of this man whom he will (thereafter) beget will become important (but) his (own) days will be short. [x + 10]
If he pours his [urine] into a river: his harvest will be bountiful.
If he pours his urine into a well: he will lose his property. [x + 15]
If he pours his urine into an irrigation-canal: Adad (the Weather-god) will flood his harvest.
If he pou[rs] his urine to his (personal) god <or to> his <(personal) goddess>: he will [find(?)] his lost property. [x + 20]

Again the dream of urinating towards the sky and its prognostic fall into the domain of symbolically interpreted dreams.

The next seven omina have lost their apodoses; the contents of the dreams listed are all alike: the drinking

[24] *Cf.*, of course, the Old Testament passage II Kings 18: 27. (Also my remarks in *Orientalia* NS 17: 41 n. 5.)

[25] NÍG.BANDA is explained in the so-called EME.SAL-vocabulary (d i m m e r = d i n g i r = *ilu* III: 45) by *mim-ma i-ṣu* "a little."

of the urine of animals. The sequence lost in the break begins with the horse, then follows the urine of a donkey, a bull, a dog, and a pig.

The text is continued after a break (*cf.* above) on the last column of *K.* 6267+ which exhibits three more omina dealing with the same topic:

If (in his dream) while in a sitting position the urine [ ] . . . him: sorrow. [y + 1]
If he spatters himself with his own urine: he will forget what he has said.[26]
If he drinks the urine of his wife: this man will enjoy (lit.: eat) abundance.

As a commentary on the last omen, it should be noted that infringements of the pan-human inhibitions against contact with excreta, corpses, etc., are in our Dream-Book, as a rule, rewarded by favorable prognostics. This attitude towards dream-experiences places in relief the important fact that the symbolic nature of certain dream-contents was clearly felt and recognized. This holds likewise true for the infringement of sexual taboos, although the pertinent section of our Dream-Book is not extant (*cf.* for Talmudic examples of such dream-interpretations, *Berakoth* 55*b*).

The last omina of our tablet give the impression of a rather disparate collection assembled by the scribe towards the end of the tablet in order to fill space. *Cf.*, e.g., the omina concerning the drinking of the urine of various domestic animals which one would rather expect in Tablet A in the section of the "kenning" NAG "he drinks" (*cf.* p. 274). There we have, in fact, an omen (rev. col. III: V + 5) beginning with "if he drinks his own urine" (*cf.* p. 274). The topic "urine" recurs in the fragment enumerating dreams of the king (to be discussed on p. 294) where dream-contents are listed in which people and animals urinate in front of him.

The obverse of Tablet VII is in very bad condition. Only the ends of some twenty lines are preserved on the upper part of the first column. They are divided by lines into three groups. The first—of which about five lines are missing—contains identical apodoses and, apparently, likewise protases which are differentiated only by their first word(s). This is indicated by the fact that the very last sign of each preserved protasis is "*rab*" which should most likely be restored to [*i-kar*]-*rab* "he greets, utters the benediction." Consequently, the omina of this group may be assumed to have run somewhat as follows:

[If a man (in his dream) gre]ets [the king or the god NN, etc.]: he will quarrel.

Cf. p. 293 for other omina with the "kenning" *karābu* "to greet."

As to the second section, we are at a loss even to establish the extent of the individual omina. The remnants of the "key-words" which the transliteration proposes to read respectively [*ú-n*]*ak-kas*, [*ú-mar*]-*raq* and [*i/ú*]-*gaz-za-az* refer all to crushing, breaking into small pieces or the like. The last words of the prognostics do not allow restorations.

In the third group the topic KÚ "to eat" seems to be taken up:

[If (in his dream he ea]ts [ ]: decrease; [his . . .] will be wasting away; his health will be bad. [x + 20]
[If] he eats [m]any [ ]: he will eat sweet food; [his . . .] will be wasting away.
(balance broken)

Since there exists a large tablet dealing with exactly the same "kenning" (*cf.* Tablet A, below p. 270), one has to assume that these few omina appear here only on account of the object which is eaten. And this may well be the same substance which is crushed, etc., in the preceding group. But what it was and how the entire Tablet VII was topically organized escapes us completely if we do not want to assume that the obverse dealt with the eating of faeces (*cf.* pp. 220 and 273 for such dreams).

Tablet VIII

Nothing preserved but the *incipit* ("If a man in his dream sees the god Enlil: long old age") on the colophon of the seventh tablet (*K.* 6267).

Tablet IX

This is the best preserved tablet among those which can be definitely assigned to our series. The fragments out of which it has to be reconstructed fall again into two groups: those which can be placed because they show parts of the edges or corners of the tablet, and one fragment to which a definite position cannot be allocated within the gap into which it falls.

Four joining fragments: *Sm* 251, *K.* 2582, *K.* 3820 and *K.* 6739, form the upper left corner of the obverse and hence the lower left section of the reverse. Their shapes and dimensions indicate that Tablet IX was a two-column tablet. We thus have here the first thirteen lines of the first column and twenty-three lines of the end of the last, with some fragments of the adjoining columns.

Two joining fragments: *Sm* 29 and 79-7-8, 94, give us the lower edge with two intact corners and respectively ten and fifteen lines from the bottom of the first and second columns.

Within the gap which the diagrams, figures 1 and 2, will help the reader to visualize falls the "sliver"

[26] This prognostic refers perhaps to a pathological amnesia as expressed in medical texts by INIM-*šú im-ta-na-aš-ši* SAL ŠAG$_4$-*šú la ir-ri-iš* "he will always forget his words, he will not (even) desire the woman of his heart," *cf. Thompson AMT* 29, 5: 13, 96, 7: 11, *Küchler Beiträge* pl. XI III: 51, also *KAR* 26: 9. Within the omen-literature, only our Dream-Book offers similar apodoses, *cf.* note 94.

K. 9197 stretching over the obverse but without traces of a reverse. Its ten lines have to be placed somewhere in the lower half of the obverse within a space of roughly twenty lines. All counted, about thirty per cent of the original lines of Table IX is preserved.

The topic of this tablet is quite clear; the "kenning" GIN "he goes/travels" appears in nearly all the omina of the four columns. The destinations of these dream-travels are neatly organized and obliging division-lines are consistently used by the scribe. The following arrangement can be easily deducted in spite of the considerable gaps: cosmic localities, temples, cities and countries, then localities within the city and in its neighborhood and—patently in order to fill the empty space—five additional omina listing travels to various countries.

Col. I

If a man in his dream enters the gate of his city: wherever he turns, [he will (not?) attain his desire].
If he goes out of the gate of the city: wherever he turns, [he will (not?) attain] his desire.
If he ascends[27] to heaven: his days will be sh[ort].
If he descends to the netherworld: his days will be long.
If [he] to the "Country-of-no-return": [his days] will be long. [5]

The three broken omina of this section seem to mention rare names of the netherworld (beginning twice with É[28]) paralleling the fifth omen which only repeats in other words the content of the preceding. The group dealing with cosmic travels seems to represent a late accretion, since the topic is taken up *in extenso* on Tablet C (*cf.* pp. 282 ff.). It should also be noted that the Middle Babylonian precursor of the present tablet (*cf.* above pp. 259 f.) starts out with the same two omina as our text but shifts then immediately to dream-travels to cities.

The enumeration of temples begins on *K.* 2582 and ends on *K.* 9197; only one sign (É "temple") in each line is preserved on the former and four partly broken omina on the latter (*cf.* presently). Originally, this group must have taken up about thirty to thirty-five lines. Whether or not it was included in the older version of our tablet cannot be decided, since its reverse is lost, but if this was the case the sequence of topics must needs have been different there.

[If he (in his dream) visits (lit.: goes to) the temple]: good news. [x + 1]
[If he vi]sits [the temple]: his prayers will be listened to.
If he visits the temple of the god UR.SAG: he will go forth from (his present state of) uncleanliness.
If he visits the temple of the "Divine Seven": he will be well.

The list of cities which takes up the balance of column I, all of column II, and nearly the entire third column changes somewhere into an enumeration of countries, though, owing to the gap on the reverse, we are unable to say where in the third column this happened. Of about two hundred names originally included in this list, only about twenty are preserved. This is the more regrettable as such geographical names not only contain essential information as to the age and provenience of the series but reflect also redactional changes necessitated by the expansion of the geographical horizon.

The very fact that the list of cities begins with Nippur dates the first compilation to a period in which the political and cultural supremacy of that city was, at least, well remembered. Since Babylon—with special mention of its famous temple, Esagila—follows immediately, the period of the first dynasty of Babylon suggests itself as that in which the basic compilations of dream-omina originated. The evidence of the Middle Babylonian tablet discussed above on pp. 259 f. with its wealth of geographical designations reflecting the Mari period corroborates such a dating.

The enumeration of the cities begins on *K.* 9197.

If (in his dream) he goes to Nippur: sorrow, well-being for one year. [x + 5]
If he goes to Babylon: s[ighs], well-being for one year.
If [he goes to Ba]bylon and enters [Esag]ila: [ ]

After a break of about ten lines, the eleven lines on the left column of *Sm* 29+ continue the sequence of cities:

[If he goes to]: he will experience hardship.
[If he goes to]: he will build a lordly(?) [hou]se[29].
If he goes to the town (H)it: [(his) ol]d (age) will be long, his possessions will expand. [y + 5]
If he goes to the town of (H)it (and) submerges in the sacred river: he will build a proud house, his days will be long.
If he goes to the town Dûr-Mard[uk-T]I.LA: he will stand up (in court) against his adversary.
If he goes to Girsu: (there will be) joy, no iniquity.
If he goes to Lagash: he will be robbed.

[27] Instead of the "kenning" DU (reading GIN = *illik*) the *verbum movendi* referring to cosmic travels (be the heaven or the netherworld their goal) is DUL.DU (reading E_{11}) which is here rendered by respectively "to ascend" and "to descend."

[28] For such names beginning with É, *cf.* the index of K. Tallqvist, *Sumerisch-Akkadische Namen der Totenwelt* (*Studia Orientalia* 5(4) *s.v.*

[29] Exactly the same apodosis is found in *Kraus Physiognomatik* pl. 28, no. 22 rev. iv: 16, referring to a man with the gait of a SA.A-animal. The liver-omina (e.g. *TCL VI* 3: rev. 30, *Boissier DA* 6 f. rev. 26, *KAR* 423: ii: 52) show another occurrence of NIR.GÁL in an apodosis: "the prince will make a lordly utterance in his palace (DUG$_4$.NIR.GÁL . . . GAR-*an*)." *Cf.* further note 97.

If he goes to (the country) Ḫamutbal:[30] he will be imprisoned.[31] [y + 10]

The continuation of this list of geographical names is preserved on three fragments which show only seventeen of the original seventy to ninety lines of the enumeration.

Thus we find after a break of three lines on *K.* 6739 (part of the join *K.* 2582+) the name of a (otherwise unknown) city KAR$^{sar\text{-}ra\text{-}ár\ ki}$, then—after another break—eight more names in the right column of the fragment *K.* 9197. These are: Bub[i], Luḫat, Ḫabbar, Rapiqum, Hallan, Keš[ ], Qatan, and Ḫazur.

Most of these accidentally preserved names (*cf.* for details above p. 260) we find again on the Middle Babylonian Babylon-tablet (*Babylon* 36383) with slight variants which are shown below:

Lu-ḫa-at (Neo-Ass.) against	*Lu-ḫa-ia-at* (Middle Babyl.)
Ḫa-ba-á[r]	*Ḫa-am-ba-ri*
Qa-ta-an	*Qa-ta-na*
Ḫa-zu-ur	*Ḫa-sur*
Ḫal-la-a[n]	*Ḫa-a[l]*

A scribal error seems to be responsible for the difference between a city called *Id-da-an* on the Babylon-tablet and *Id-ra-an* in the Dream-Book, but outside of the present context (*cf.* p. 269). The signs "*da*" and "*ra*" are easily confused, and it is likewise possible that the scribe intended to read *Á-ra-an* in order to link the protasis to the apodosis (*a-ra-an-šú* GA[B]) by means of a pun.

The second column of the fragment *Sm* 29+ brings us fourteen more lines of which only half have preserved the names of the cities:

[If] he goes [to]: utte[rance of].
[If] he goes [to]: well-being for one year (or): he will be saved in a difficult situation of his town.
[If] he goes [to]: hardship, he will experience need.[32]
[If] he goes [to]: decrease.
[If] he goes [to]: the crime of his father will seize him. [x + 5]
If he goes to [T]iḫâ: he will become strong.[33]
If he goes to Išlan: wrath of the deity.
If he goes to Kalati: he will utter something which should not be said.
If he goes to Parsa: disease (lit.: the god) will strike among (his) neighbor(s).
If he goes to Laban: he will build a house.[34] [x + 10]
If he goes to Opis:[35] his (cattle)-fold will be dispersed.
If he goes to Laban: he will make a great name for himself.
If he goes to Lubda: imprisonment will seize [him].

In this last group of extant omina we find again geographical names of the Old Babylonian world; beside Opis and Lubda, which can be located, there is Išlan reminding one of Mišlan of the Mari texts, Parsa perhaps identical with Paršum (in the Lagash region, *cf. BRM IV* 53: 60), Laban (occurring twice) which may or may not refer to the Lebanon.[36]

Somewhere on the first (right) column of the reverse of *K.* 2582, a dividing line presumably separated the enumeration of cities from that of countries. Of the latter only five partly damaged omina are preserved yielding the names: Egypt, Ḫatti (occurring twice in successive lines; *cf.* above col. I: y + 4 f. of the same tablet) and—strangely enough in this context—the very old town *I-lul*^{ki}.[37]

The names of the countries Egypt and Ḫatti, of a city called Dûr-Marduk-uballiṭ, obviously named after one of the rather numerous kinglets who appear here and there in cuneiform literary sources but are not known from historical inscriptions, as well as the obvious "Middle Babylonism" *igiššir* (line y + 6 of col. II) demonstrate that the original list of cities had been augmented and extended up to the Cassite period. *Cf.* furthermore the "Sea-Country" mentioned in the final section of the tablet (*cf.* below p. 269) which confirms the assumption that the Old Babylonian repertory of cities and countries was brought "up to date" in the Middle Babylonian period but was then maintained unchanged by the tradition-

[30] The text has GI.IN.SAG.6^{ki} for KI.IN.GI.SAG.6 "Land of the Six Heads," an old, quasi-mythological, designation of the country Ḫamutbal (east of the Tigris) which apparently was interpreted by the scribe as the name of a city. The same country is again mentioned on our tablet; *cf.* p. 269.

[31] The meaning of the logogram KI.ŠÚ is given in the series: i z i -*išātu* C III: 30 KI.ŠÚ = *ki-lu*, i.e., prison.

[32] The rare word *pašuqtu* (*cf. CT XXXIX* 13: 11 and twice in Tukulti-Ninurta epic) which appears here and likewise on the Middle Babylonian *Vorläufer* of the same tablet, Babylon 36383: 5, is explained in an unpublished commentary (communication of Dr. B. Landsberger) to the omen-series *šumma izbu* (line 311) by *dannatu* "hardship."

[33] *Cf.* from the series *šumma âlu* (*CT XL* 42, K. 2259+: 10) LUGAL *i-ga-šir-ma* GABA.RI NU TUK-*ši* "the king will become strong and will have no rival."

[34] Again a pseudo-linguistic association: Laban—via *labānu* "to make bricks" to the building of a house.

[35] The text has ÚḪ (= UD.ÙḪ to be read U$_4$.k u š u$_2$) with the gloss (written in smaller characters above the line) *Ú-pi-e*, i.e., Opis. For this city and its situation, *cf.* Unger in *RLA* 1: 64 f.

[36] The writing Laban for Mount Lebanon is only attested in the inscription of Shamshi-Adad (*KAH* 1 2 IV: 15); therefore we have perhaps to look towards Babylonia for the two cities named Laban. *Cf. Chiera SLT* 216 IV: 18 for *La-ba-an*-È^{ki} and the already quoted Old Babylonian "Census"-list *BRM IV* 53: 73 for URU *La-ba-an-I-ba-aḫ-ḫi*. A Babylonian city Labbanat is mentioned in the late letters *Harper ABL* 32 and 1102.

[37] This town—attested in *Chiera SLT* 213 V: 2 and 3 as *Î-lul* and *A-lul* (= 211 IV: 11–12)—appears also in the Akkad text *BE I* pl. VI col. III and pl. VII col. VIII, as has been pointed out to me by Dr. I. J. Gelb. This excludes the reading proposed recently (*ZA* 49: 63, n. 2) by A. Falkenstein.

minded Assyrian scribes. Such an assumption is, of course, based solely on the remnants of the list at our disposal, and any new fragment may possibly reveal further additions such as those of the Neo-Assyrian period: Ḫatti and Egypt.

A section of two lines following the last item of the geographical list clearly has the purpose of covering all those dream-travels which are not expressly enumerated ("If he goes towards East/West: [ ]"). We shall find similar attempts of the scribe to cover unspecified cases by means of such generalizing statements (*cf.* below p. 271, 273, 277, 278).

The last four lines of the third column and the upper half of the last deal with dream-visits to localities, always houses, which are typically situated within the limits of a city. The enumeration begins with the *bît kisitti* (actually "to his (own) *bît kisitti*") which is immediately followed by the inn (É.ÈŠ.DAM). The former denotes most likely the "family-house," i.e., the house of the dreamer's parents. When our fragments take up the list again, we find mentioned the house of a gardener, of a tavern keeper, of a sailor, and of a plowman. The apodoses are all destroyed. At the end of the list, the scribe has added with obvious lack of consistency:

If he goes to the house of a joyful man: [he will see] days of sadness. [x + 6]

but without giving us the expected parallel omen which would have to predict that visiting a house of sorrow in a dream forebodes—as "dreams go by contraries"—something pleasant.

In the subsequent section, the ambit of the dreaming person expands towards localities which, typically again, are situated outside of the city. The enumeration shows sundry inconsistencies:

If he (in his dream) goes to an orchard: (somebody) will pronounce his release.
If he goes to a (vegetable) garden: his work will get worse, (or) he will be free (lit.: go out) of hardship.
If he goes to set a wood-pile afire: he will see days of sadness. [x + 10]
If he goes to plant a field: he will be free (lit.: go out) of hardship.
If he goes to hunt in the desert: he will become sad.
If he goes to a fold for big cattle: he will . . . the help of the deity.
If he goes to a fold for sheep: he will become a chieftain.
If he goes to a fold for goats: he will . . . the mercy of the deity. [x + 15]
If he goes into a cane-break, cuts reeds and makes (them into) bundles: [he will recover(?)] from a dangerous disease.

At the very end of the present tablet, probably utilizing the remaining empty space, the scribe added a group of five omina concerned again with journeys to countries and cities, taken partly from older collections but showing also later additions. To the former belongs the omen mentioning the otherwise unknown city Aran (or Idran, *cf.* above p. 268) which occurs also on the Middle Babylonian copy from Babylon, to the latter the reference to the "Sea-Country." The country Ia-mutbal had already been included in the list by its quaint Sumerian name (*cf.* above p. 268), while the "Wine-Land" seems to be a new and probably literary designation of the mountain regions to the northwest of Babylonia from where wine was imported.

If (in his dream) he goes to "Wine-Land": sesame, wool of all kinds [ ].
If he goes to the sea (or: the "Sea-<Country>"): what [was thought(?)] to be lost, what he has squandered he will gather (again). [x + 20]
If he goes to the town Aran: his crime (*aranšu*) will be removed.
If he goes to Ia-mutbal: he will see misery.
If he goes to Ṭupliash: there will be pardon of the god.

3. RELATED OMINA

We shall deal now with three rather large groups of fragments, each characterized by the more or less consistent use of a "kenning." These three "kennings" are the verbs KÚ (read: *îkul* "he has eaten") (Tablet A), SUM-*šú* (read: *iddinūšu* "they have given him") (Tablet B) and *na-ši* ("he carries") (Tablet C). By means of these criteria we are able to reconstruct three tablets (provisionally dubbed here A, B, and C) the position of which within the series will be discussed on p. 281.

Because the KÚ-tablet offers a new problem, the existence of more than one copy of the same text, we shall investigate it first, although there is the possibility that it might belong immediately after the SUM-tablet (Tablet B) on which a "catchline" is preserved which seems to point in that direction.

The following fragments belong to Tablet A on account of their "kennings": *K.* 2266, 4570, 6611, 6663, 7068, 7251, 8300, 9919, 10663, 11841, 12319, and *Sm* 1458, 2073. On the large "join," *K.* 4570 + 7251, which shows three columns, the verb KÚ appears only in the central and the right column while the left has entries repeating a new "kenning": NAG (read: *ištî*) "he has drunk." Another "join," *Sm* 2073 (containing *K.* 2266 + 9919 + 12319), comprises equally three columns of which the left again differs from the two others, exhibiting in nearly every entry the characteristic KÚ. The left column has a new "kenning": *imḫuršu* "(something) has met him." While the first "join" does not yield any information concerning its position within the tablet, the second shows not only remnants of the right and lower edge but—at its extreme left—traces of a fourth anepigraph

column. These features tell us clearly that *Sm* 2073+ formed the right lower section of a four-column tablet on which the topic "eating" was dropped in the third column (of the reverse) and replaced by another. Consequently, we have to place the "join" *K.* 4570+ likewise in the first three columns of the reverse, but within its upper section. The small fragment *K.* 11841 containing only NAG-entries belongs, therefore, in the third column of the reverse where the "kenning" NAG was followed by *imḫuršu*. The contents of the fourth (and last) column of the reverse are lost; its existence is furthermore demonstrated by the traces of a left column on the just mentioned *K.* 11841. The diagram, figure 4, will illustrate what the preceding reasoning has attempted to prove.

On the obverse, the situation is somewhat more complicated. Only two of the fragments which compose the reverse have inscribed second faces and can, therefore, be definitely placed: the obverse of *Sm* 2073 and that of *K.* 2266. They yield the first fifteen lines of the second, two broken and unconnected sections of the third and some eighteen lines of the center of the fourth and last column of the obverse. No other KÚ-fragments can be assigned with certainty; their positions can possibly be suggested upon the assumption that the objects eaten in these dreams were systematically arranged by the scribe of our tablet.

Since the beginning of the second column refers to the eating of meat and the right column of the fragment *K.* 6663 + 8300 continues this topic, we have placed it in the second column somewhere in the center. *K.* 6611 contains omina concerned with the eating of fish and fowl in dreams. Because it shows the lower edge of the tablet and covers (though only in part) three columns, it belongs either at the bottom of the second or of the third column. Two observations determine us to locate *K.* 6611 at the bottom of the third column: fish and fowl should not interrupt the sequence "meat" and "liquid dishes," and the few signs preserved at the beginnings of its right column refer to vegetables, which agrees with the content of the fourth column (*cf.* below p. 271 and 272).

Outside of this arrangement (illustrated on figure 3) must remain a number of sizable fragments whose contents and individual physical features exclude them from the four-column tablet. We shall discuss these fragments (i.e., *K.* 6673, 7068, 10663 and *Sm* 1458) on p. 275.

To characterize the articulation of the topics contained in our tablet, it can be stated that—after the first missing column—the eating of the following substances is discussed: on the obverse as far as the text is preserved, meat, liquid dishes, fish, fowl, fruits, and, on the first two columns of the reverse, inedible substances such as food for domestic animals, earth, dust, leather, faeces, human meat, inedible vegetal matters, bitumen, etc. As to the content of the first, lost column, *cf.* a suggestion on p. 275.

The second column begins *in medias res:*

Col. II

If (in his dream) he eats the meat of a ZU-goat: [ ].
If he eats the meat of a bearded goat: [ ].
If he eats the meat of a hyena(?): evil seizure.
If he eats the meat of some wild animal:[38] evil seizure, there will be cases of death in his family. [5]
If he eats the meat of some foreign wild animal: his bad (luck) will be removed.[39]
If he eats the head (of an animal): he will have barley (*dNisaba*).
If he eats the innards (of an animal): peace of mind.
If he slaughters (the animal) and eats (its meat): no peace of mind.
If he eats the "base of the entrails"[40] (of an animal): peace of mind. [10]
If he eats [ ]: obtaining of (his) desire, (or): quick sorrow.

After a few damaged lines[41] and a gap of undetermined length (maximally thirty-five to forty lines), the enumeration continues on the fragment *K.* 6663 + 8300 (right column, the left has only typical apodoses *cf.* p. 314):

If he eats the meat of a [do]g: rebellion, not obtaining of (his) desire.
If he eats the meat of a beaver: rebellion.
If he eats the meat of a gazelle: (the disease) *saḫal šêri.*[42] [x + 5]
If he eats the meat of a wild bull: his days will be long.
If he eats the meat of a fox: (an attack of) *siḫil šêri,*[42] for an unfortunate person: good (luck).

[38] GAR.KI is used here to refer to animals in a general way. According to *Ḫ.-ḫ.* XIV: 402 (*cf.* simply *Landsberger Fauna* 30) the sign group is to be pronounced n i . q i and has the Akkadian correspondence *zêr mandu* "totality of living beings (apart from humans)."

[39] The terms ḪUL and SIG_5 as used in the apodoses referring to private persons seem often to refer to good and bad luck in its economic, or better, financial aspect. *Cf.* e.g. MAŠ.EN.DÙ *i-šar-[ru]* "the poor man will become rich" (*KAR* 389: 5) corresponding to MAŠ.EN.DÙ.SIG_5 (*ibid.* II: 31) and both contrasted with respectively LAL.DU and LAL.DU-*in* i.e. *ilappin* ("the rich man) will become poor," and also NÍG.TUK ḪUL IGI (*KAR* 384: 7) "the rich man will experience bad (luck, i.e., poverty)." Hence ḪUL "evil, bad luck = poverty" and SIG_5 "good (luck) = riches."

[40] The term [*i*]-*šid ir-ri* is new, and it cannot be said to which specific part of the intestinal tract it refers.

[41] The last of these lines shows [AN]ŠE "donkey" which indicates that the enumeration of animals had already been begun.

[42] With *siḫil* (also *siḫilti* [*CT XXXVIII* 47: 41] and *saḫal*) *šêri* omen-texts and private letters (Old Babylonian: *YOS II* 83: 11, Neo-Babylonian: *Harper ABL* 203: 10–12) refer to a variety of diseases characterized by a piercing, stabbing pain. In medical parlance, however, we find only the verb *saḫālu* (I and II) describing pains as well as actual punctures (cf. *KAR* 195: rev. 16). In the Old-Babylonian letter Boehl, *Mededeelingen* II no. 959: 4, however, the same phrase describes an emotion (anger or resentment).

If he eats [the meat of a . . .]: deliverance from evil.
If he eats the meat of a mo[nk]ey: he will make acquisitions by force. [x + 10]
If he eats meat he knows: peace of mind.
If he eats meat he does not know: no peace of mind.
If he eats human meat: he will have great riches.
If he eats meat from a dead man: somebody will take away what he owns, [his] mind will [(not?)] be in peace. [x + 15]
If he eats meat from a corpse:[43] [somebody] will take away what he owns, his mind [will (not?) be at pe]ace.
If he eats his own entrails: his possessions [will].
If he eats his own flesh: his property will [ ], with a disturbed mind he will live (lit.: walk). [x + 20]
If he eats the flesh of his friend: he will enjoy (lit.: eat) a large share.
If his friend eats his face: he will enjoy a large share.
If he eats the eye of his friend: his bad (luck) is straightened out,[44] his property will prosper.
If he eats the flesh of his hand: his daughter will d[ie]. [x + 25]
If he eats the flesh of the hand of his friend: something he does not know (yet) is lost, imprisonment will seize him.
If he eats the flesh of his foot: his eldest son will die.
If he eats the flesh of the foot of his friend: among those near to him [ ].
If he eats his penis: his son [will die]. [x + 30]
[If he eats the penis of] his [frie]nd: he w[ill have] a son.

(one broken line)

The preceding enumeration shifts from the eating of animals which are not normally human fare to cannibalistic dreams, then quickly to the eating of corpses and, rather in detail, to the devouring of parts of the dreamer's body. The topic of cannibalistic dreams is taken up again in col. V (*cf.* below p. 273). A further indication that the present text is the result of compilatory activities can be found in the omina dealing with the corpse eaten in a dream. Here, the very same omen has obviously been taken from two collections, one of which used the Akkadian (*pagru*), the other the Sumerian (a d d a), word. Their protases are identical.

The next preserved section of the present tablet appears on the right column of the fragment *Sm* 2073+. Only the protases of ten to twelve omina are extant, listing liquid dishes (u t u l) of various kinds. First several cereal preparations qualified as "fine," as containing blood,[45] as "bitter" and as "store-bought"[46] are mentioned, then a stew prepared from the BUR_5-bird, a dish called z i b a ḫ[47] and—before the break—dishes made of chick peas (GÚ.GAL) and lentils (GÚ.TUR).

After a break of eighteen lines, the text continues on the right column of *K.* 2266+ (*cf.* fig. 3 for illustration) where the apodoses of thirteen omina, a dividing line and three broken lines can be seen. These prognostics (*cf.* p. 315) are rather uninteresting except for the repeated appearance of the protasis "a *šigû*-prayer is demanded (KAM-*ti ši-gu-u*)." Here we have again a case in which the apodosis does not refer to impending events but rather contains what may be termed a divine "message." In this instance exactly as in the omina of Tablet II (*cf.* above p. 263) which refer to forgotten vows, the deity is supposed to have sent a specific dream in order to instigate the dreaming person to perform a specific cultic activity.[48]

At the very bottom of this (the third) column must be placed the fragment *K.* 6611 (*cf.* above p. 270) which is inscribed with omina referring to dreams in which certain kinds of fish and fowl were eaten. The fish section is destroyed except for the determinative "fish" (ḪA) in the last omen before the dividing line. The few signs on its right column mention vegetables and belong therefore in col. IV (*cf.* p. 272).

However, even such a passing reference to fish in a list of dishes is interesting and for the following reason. A study of the material culture of Mesopotamia reveals the curious fact that the names given to the numerous kinds of fish (of the rivers, the lagoon and the sea) are on the decrease from the oldest period onward. Appearing already in the earliest sign-lists from Fara (Deimel, *WVDOG* **43**: 20*), numerous names of fish are mentioned in the administrative documents of the pre-Sargonic, Sargonic and Ur III periods. They recur again in the tablets of the Isin,

[43] The equation *šalamtu* = LÚ with inscribed or added BAD (also GAM) in the reading a d (d a) is well attested in the vocabularies (*cf.* e.g. series ea VII: 141 and á-A VII_2 55, 57) which sometimes replace *šalamtu* by *pagru* (e.g. d i r i VI 49, ea I: 196).

[44] The atypical prognostic ḪUL-*šú* KUD-*iš* is elucidated by the remarks of *Kraus Physiognomatik* 33 note 48. One would however expect *tarṣat* in our context.

[45] This dish known in Akkadian as *ummar damē* (ḪAR.GUD on *Rm* 2,556: x + 9 in *RA* **17**: 187) and the Sumerian *Vorläufer LTBA* I 80: 5 some lines after UTUL.KI.LAM "store-bought") corresponds, evidently, to the famous Spartan *haimatia.*

[46] The custom of preparing and selling food in cook-shops is not only attested in this passage but also in texts from Mari (a woman selling *mirsum*) and Boghazkeui (a woman selling *pappasu*), as I have shown in *JNES* 11: 139.

[47] This Sumerian designation appears in the Sumerian *Vorläufer* to *Ḫ.-ḫ.* XXII, *LTBA* I 80: rev. 7 as UTUL ZI.BA.AḪ.

[48] The term *mêšû* appearing here and *passim* in omen texts (consistently written *mi-ši*) is meant to describe either a state of confusion or of darkness (*cf. mêšîtum* in *CH* xliii: 5, *išîtu passim* in literary texts and in the Old Babylonian omen *RA* **27**: 149: 30 for later SÙḪ) which may befall a person but also an army or a country. For *ešîtu* as a symptom mentioned in medical texts, *cf. CT XXIII* 23: 2, Falkenstein, *LKTU* 99: 52 (= *Labat TDP* 76). In the omen-texts, *mêšû* is mostly used with IGI (*immar*) "he will experience *mêšû* (perhaps perplexity)": *cf.* also Kraus in *AfO* 11: 222 no. 2: 11 *mi-ši a-dir-*[*tu*]. The consistent writing as *mi-ši* suggests the possibility that we should transliterate MI-*ši.*

Isin-Larsa, and early Old Babylonian dynasties. However, when after the eclipse of the Cassite period epistolary, legal, and administrative documents reappear, fishing and the eating of fish become extremely rare, and names of specific kinds of fish have completely disappeared (outside of the lexicographic literature). If fish are mentioned they are simply referred to with the generic term *nûnē*. The possibility of the existence of a fish-taboo (on a popular, not a cultic level) suggests itself as an explanation, especially since such a taboo is attested for Syria in the first millennium B.C. and since fish was considered a food which was—as cultic texts tell us—to be avoided on certain important days and by certain persons.

The section on fowls has a few better preserved lines:

[If] he eats a [-b]ird: to watch (out) is said for him, he shall not leave the house. [y + 5]
[If] he eats a [d]uck: he will have food in abundance.
[If] he eats a KUR.GI-bird:[49] attack of the enemy or attack of the evil.
If he eats a *kurukku*-bird: attack of the enemy.
If he eats a raven: income will come [in].[50] [y + 10]
If he eats a [tur]tle-dove: . . . [ ].
If [he eats] a BUR$_5$.[ḪABRUD-bird:].

Noteworthy here is only the first apodosis because it contains a warning. The phrase "he shall not leave the house" (lit.: not go out of the door) is typical of hemerologies, those collections which enumerate the lucky and unlucky days of the year (*cf.* simply, *Labat Hemerologies*, for this type of cuneiform literature). For another example *cf.* below p. 280.

The fourth column of the obverse turns to vegetable food-stuff. Its middle section is extant on the right column of *K.* 2266 with about twenty lines. Above a dividing line are preserved only, as object of the "key-word" *îkul* ("he has eaten"): [*x*]-*la-ši*, *lallaru* and *unšinakku*. Of these only *lallaru* is known. It denotes some kind of fine honey (*Landsberger Fauna* 132), probably imported (*Winckler Sargon* 36: 170). *Unšinakku* seems to be a Sumerian loan word but cannot be identified. The protases are of little interest and show another instance of the repetitiousness already mentioned (*cf.* above p. 257) which we found characteristic for the Dream-Book. The prediction that the eating of *lallaru*-honey in one's dream prognosticates "eating of sweet food" is somewhat unusual especially on account of the subsequent omen (*cf.* below col. IV: x + 12) which predicts—quite true to the pattern—that the person who dreams of eating raisins will experience bitterness (*undarrar*).[51]

The section on fruits follows after a dividing line:

If he (in his dream) eats an apple: he will acquire what his heart wants.
If he eats a fig: he will eat sweet food.
If he eats a single grape: joy, or also: heart-break. [x + 10]
If he eats a bunch of grapes[52]: his heart [ ].
If he eats a raisin: he will experience bitterness.
If he eats a pear(?): he will be h[ungry].

The text continues with the enumeration of more fruits, the apodoses being destroyed: the fruit of the *urzinu*-tree (*cf. Thompson DAB* index s.v.), the pomegranate and its "sweet" variety, called in Akkadian *kuduppānu* (*Ḫ.-ḫ.* III: 188, etc.), and a fruit called GIŠ.ÁŠ.DÙG.GA, again with a sweet variety. The Sumerogram ÁŠ.DÙG.GA is known to refer (with the plant-determinative Ú) to a plant used for magical purposes; its use to designate the edible fruit of a tree is novel and no interpretation can be offered.

Towards the bottom of this column, vegetables are enumerated. The right column of *K.* 6611 shows the beginnings of three names, to wit: UR[U.AN.NA] or possibly K[A.GA.ḪA SAR], LU.Ú[B SAR], AN.TA[Ḫ.ŠUM] and GAN.[ZI SAR]. Of these LU.ÚB SAR refers to the turnip and AN.TAḪ.ŠUM probably to a characteristic spring vegetable.

On the reverse of the present tablet, the text shifts, as has already been indicated, to dreams of less rational contents. Of the first column about half of the omina are preserved, partly on *K.* 7251 which joins *K.* 4570+ and forms its right column, partly on the extensive "join" *Sm* 2073+.

The first fragment (*cf.* p. 317) yields only protases listing such inedible fare as *ukullû*, *ukullê alpi* and *ukullê umāmu*, i.e., "feed," "feed for big cattle" and "feed for wild animals (held in captivity)," straw, chaff, wood(?) and reed. Note line x + 4 "If he (in his dream) snorts (*nuppušu*) into the feed and eats (it) . . ." because it shows that even the scholars who composed these omen-collections were not devoid of a keen interest in observing minutiae.

On the second fragment (*Sm* 2073+, right column) we read:

[If] he eats [ ]: his possessions will expand.
[If] he eats [ ]: imprisonment and the judge will seize him.
[If] he eats a kiln-fired brick: his mind will be in peace. [y + 5]
If he eats earth: confusion, he will become decrepit.

[49] For evidence concerning this bird, *cf.* provisionally Tallqvist, *Stud. Or.* **13** (10).

[50] Obviously a pun (*aribu—irbu*). For *irbu* in protases, *cf.* note 56.

[51] The value *dár* for TAR (W. v. Soden, *Das akkadische Syllabar*, Rome, Pont. Ist. Orientale, 1948, no. 11) is new.

[52] While GIŠ.GEŠTIN refers to the single grape (*cf. KAR* 381 II: 13, a bird carrying a grape), GIŠ.KIN GEŠTIN denotes the bunch of grapes (*išḫunatu* also as personal name, *cf. Stamm Namengebung* 255). *Cf.* for imitations of such grapes in precious stones NA$_4$ GIŠ.GEŠTIN IŠ.ḪU.NA.DU (alternating with GIŠ.GEŠTIN GA.RA.A.AN) in Boghazkeui (*KUB XXII* 70: 19 and 25). *Ḫ.-ḫ.* III: 20 f. has also GA.RA.AN (*cf. KAR* 40: 7 GA.RA.NA = *is-ḫu-na-t*[*ú*]) instead of GIŠ.KIN.GEŠTIN (attested outside of the lexical texts e.g. *Johns ADD* 1013: rev. 5, 1095: 7).

If he eats loose(?) earth: he will be in confusion and suffer hunger.
If he eats earth as bread: he will be removed from his position.
If he eats a brick as bread: this man will be removed from his place.

(after a dividing line)

If he eats dust: he will become decrepit, . . . he will suffer want,[53] alienation(?) of his god is in store for him, perplexity. [y + 10]
If he eats dust from a corner (of the wall): . . . he will suffer want, his mind will be at peace.
If he eats the scales[54] of a leper: . . . [he will suffer want].
If he eats sand: [ ].

In the next, damaged, section, the eating of leather and leather-objects is discussed. In the few preserved words (*cf.* p. 317) we find—apart from KUŠ "leather"—sandals, a leather coat (KUŠ.GÚ.È.[A]) and a leather bag (*kîsu*).

Coprophagy in dreams (*cf.* also p. 282, Tablet C i: 54) is the topic of the following section. After two omina with broken (but apparently identical) prognostics referring to dreams of eating either faeces or one's own faeces (ŠÈ-*šú*), we read:

If (in his dream) he eats the faeces of his friend: his property will [prosper], he will have good (luck), [he will say (of his riches)] "Where shall I put (it)?" [y + 25]
If he eats the faeces of wild animals: [he will] ha[ve] riches.

The naive joy in riches expressed in this prediction (for a parallel, *cf. CT XXXIX* 33: 61) is further elaborated in a protasis of the series *šumma âlu* (*cf.* part I, p. 242): "He will become important and say: 'Where shall I pour my barley (for storage), where deposit my silver?' " (*CT XXXVIII* 36: 68), asking thus, exactly as the rich man in Luke XII: 17, "What shall I do, because I have no room where to bestow my fruits?" Note also another omen-passage in similar mood and form: "he will become rich and say: 'Who is like me?' " (*KAR* 382: 11).

The end of this column is taken up by outspoken cannibalistic dreams which run as follows:

If he kills a man (in his dream) and eats (his flesh): his property will [ ].
If he kills his brother and eats (his flesh): somebody will [ ] his possessions.
If he kills his son and eats (his flesh): somebody will [ ] his possessions. [y + 30]

The fruits of plants which are normally not eaten form a large section of the upper part of the next column to the left, preserved in the central column of the fragment *K.* 4570+. They are mostly referred to with GURUN and once their seeds are especially mentioned. Most of the enumeration is lost. After the fruits of the KUR.x, of the ḪUR.SAG.SAR ("mountain-plant") and of the *ṣarbatu*-tree,[55] come the omina:

If he eats the fruit of the NAM.TAR-plant: hard-[ship], he will prevail over his enemy (in court): conscription (caused by) alarming news.
If he eats the seeds of the *ṣarbatu*-tree: his evil (luck) will be removed. [x + 10]
If he eats (the fruit? of) the *ṣarbatu*-tree: a rival.
If he eats a known plant: peace of mind.
If he eats a plant he does not know: income will come in.[56]

With these last two omina which are expressly incorporated to include all the possibilities (*cf.* for similar instances above p. 269), the enumeration turns, after a dividing-line, to a new topic:

If he eats bitumen (*ittû*): imprisonment will seize him, no peace of mind. [x + 15]
If he eats (dry) asphalt (*kupru*):[57] he will have sorrow(s).
If he eats naphtha: a troubled mind.

[53] The phrase $DUG_4.DUG_4$ *i-ma-ak-ki* cannot be adequately explained. It recurs in the Dream-Book in: Tablet C rev. I: y + 10, 12 $DUG_4.DUG_4$ *i-ma-ki* and rev. III: x + 12 $DUG_4.GA$ *i-mi-ik-ki*.

[54] The reading *saḫaršuppû* for this disease has already been clearly indicated in the long-known *kudurru*-passage *King BBSt.* pl. L iv: 8 as SU.ḪUR.^{šu}ŠAB.A, an awkward spelling for Sumerian s u ḫ u r (variant of s a ḫ a r) plus š u b . a "covered with dust (i.e., with dustlike, whitish scales)." The Akkadian loan-word *saḫaršuppû* (*cf.* e.g. *saḫar-šup-pa-a* in *VAS I* 70 V: 10, *saḫar-šup-pi-e* quoted by Ungnad in *Orientalia* NS 12: 306) is usually spelled SAḪAR.ŠUB.BA-*a*; *cf.* also *ma-li-e* SAḪAR.ŠUB.BA-*e* in *Zimmern Beiträge* 24: 32. *Bezold Glossar*, 285b mentions a non-existent **isribu* (*Harper ABL* 1105: rev. 12) which has to be omitted. An unpublished Old Babylonian LU-series excavated by the Oriental Institute in Nippur explains LÚ.SAḪAR.ŠUB.BA by *ša e-ep-qa-am ma-lu-ú* "who is full of scab."

[55] This tree (Sumerian GIŠ.AŠAL) was probably the poplar (*Populus euphratica*).

[56] Here *irbu* means simply "income" or the like; *cf.* such prognostics as "income will come into the house of (this) man" (*CT XXXVIII* 47: 36) or "this house will lack income (TU-*ba ú-ṣa-am-ma*)" (*KAR* 382: 39), while in other omen-passages the term refers to incoming taxes or dues ("the *irbu* of the country will go into the palace" *KAR* 148: 7 = *K.*8187: rev. 31). Note the apodosis *CT XXVIII* 44*b*: 4 "the deity wants an *irbu* from (this) man," where the word denotes donations to the sanctuary. *Cf.* the corresponding two Sumerograms: MÁŠ and MU.UN.DU.

[57] *ittû* and *kupru* designate asphalt and, according to their Sumerograms, the former its liquid (i.e., mixed with water), the latter its dry (or dried) form (*cf.* ESIR.ḪI.A and ESIR.È.A standing probably for ESIR.ḪÁD.A). For naphtha, *cf.* mostly the series *šumma âlu* speaking of miraculous "floods" of this substance (*CT XXXIX* 21: 156), of its oozing out of the ground (*ibid.* 10*a*: 5) or burning within a city (*ibid.* 10*b*: 26). Only rarely and in late texts, naphtha seems to have been used for practical purposes (*VAS VI* 228: 3, *Evetts Nrgl.* 41: 2).

Turning to inedible vegetal matters:

If he eats (mattress-)stuffing (made of fibres of the date palm): he will be removed from his position.
If he eats sweepings: he will enjoy ample food, his mind will be at peace. [x + 20]
If he eats sweepings of the street: his possessions will increase.
If he eats slime(?): a troubled mind, he will become decrepit.
If he eats stalks: . . . [ ].
If he eats [ ]-barley: [ ]. [x + 25]

After a gap of about twenty-five to thirty lines, we pick up our text again on the tiny fragment *K.* 12319 which forms part of the central column of the join *Sm* 2073+ and represents what is probably the final—and strangest section of the KÚ-tablet. The text is rather badly preserved:

[If] he eats the [La]massu-demon:[58] [ ].
[If] he eats the [s]tars: [ ].
[If] he eats [f]lies: [he will ha]ve barley and s[ilver]; hards[hip]. [y + 5]
If he eats ants: his possessions will constantly keep him busy.

Another illustration of the influence of associations upon the relation between dream-content and prediction! As the famous passage of the Bible ("Go to the ant, thou sluggard. . . ." Prov. 6: 6) indicates, this animal was considered in the ancient Near East to be typically industrious and assiduous and this explains the nature of the last prognostication.[59] The strange dream of eating stars recurs on Tablet C I: 51 (p. 282) in the omen "If he *ditto* (i.e., ascends into heaven) and eats the stars," and has a parallel in a passage of the Babylonian Talmud (*Berakhot* 56*b*) which speaks of somebody who dreamt to have swallowed a star.

If he eats worms: obtaining of a triumph.
If he eats geck[os]: whatever he owns will vanish.
If he eats dun[g-(beetles ?)]: he will acquire grain (*dNisaba*). [y + 10]

A new train of thought is at this point introduced—obviously by association—but not indicated by a dividing line:

If he vomits [and eats his vomit]: he will enjoy [ ], [ ] will leave him.
If [he eats] the vomit [of]: he will experience [ ], [will leave] him.
If he vomits repeatedly what he has eaten [ ]. [y + 15]
If he vomits and [ ].
If [he vomits] his innards: [ ].
If [he vomits] his innards [and].

With the next column, the third of the reverse, the tablet shifts from eating to drinking. The omina with the "kenning" NAG (*ištî* "he has drunk") seem to have taken up maximally two thirds of a column. They are extant in the left column of the join *K.* 4570+ and on the small fragment *K.* 11841.

None of the names of the substances supposed to have been drunk by the dreaming person and listed on *K.* 4570+ are preserved. We have only about twenty apodoses preceded each by the "kenning" NAG. These prognostics (*cf.* pp. 318 f.) show little originality: *duluḫḫû*, a rare term for "confusion" appears beside the nearly synonymous *dilḫu*, the prognostic "he will own slaves" and the variants "he will own barley; contrition," "he will . . .;[60] he will grow old," should be mentioned. In lines x+19–20 we have again (*cf.* above p. 271) a "diagnosis" in the apodosis rather than the normal prognostic: "he has uttered a *pirittu* against his (personal) deity."

Only the fragment *K.* 11841, on which we find the text after a lacuna of uncertain length, refers to the designations of the liquids drunk (*cf.* above):

If (in his dream) [he drinks] water with u[rine:].
If [he drinks] water with urine: [ ].
If he drinks water from a sewer-ditch:[61] . . . [ ].
If he drinks his (own) urine: [peace of] mind; the deity[ ]. [y + 5]

In the last third of this column, an entirely different topic seems to be discussed, but its exact nature cannot be fully determined. When the third column (from the right) of the join *Sm* 2073+ begins, the protases contain two verbs of which the first[62] is replaced—for reasons of economy of space—by the *ditto* sign. All protases run as follows: "If (in his dream) he does *ditto* and meets a . . . -animal," and here are the individual omina:

[58] The text seems to have [LU]GAL.GAN.ME rather than the expected RAB.GAN.ME.

[59] Beside *kulbabu* (as in our text), the Akkadian knows as a word for "ant" also *namlu* (Albright, *BASOR* 89: 31, n. 14), *lamallu* (dissimilated) (*Landsberger Fauna* 136) and—as a feminine personal name—*Namallatum* (in Old Babylonian texts as established by R. Harris, *The archive of the Sin-temple in Tutub JCS* 9: 100).

[60] The verbal form *uš-tab-bal* ("he will deliberate" from *šutâbulu*) is quite unlikely and not attested in omina elsewhere. Can we assume a scribal mistake for *ušalbar/ultabbar* (as in *CT XXVIII* 33: 8, 9, and *passim* in the Assur hemerologies *KAR* 176 and 178) to which was added—as an explanatory gloss—the *ullabbar* which is always used in the omen-literature?

[61] *Ḫiltu* is known from Neo-Babylonian texts to refer to some kind of ditch (*cf. YOS VII* 32: 7, 84: 3, *GCCI II* 407: 2 f., *TCL XIII* 234: 6, *An. Or. IX* 11: 9, 14, 19: 5, 7, 11), while a vocabulary-passage (GI.SUN = *ap-pár ḫi-il-tu* in *Ḫ.-ḫ.* VIII: 16*a*) speaks of a *ḫiltu*-swamp. Our omen seems to indicate that a *ḫiltu* could also contain sewage or the like.

[62] The verb was actually written out in the ANŠE-line (i.e., rev. iii 2 + 2) where there is space for three to four signs before the preserved *-ma*.

[If he *ditto* and] meets a horse: he will have a rescuer. [z + 5]

[If he *ditto*] and meets a donkey: *imirtu*,[63] he will have sons.

[If he *ditto* and] meets a ram: he will own barley.

[If he *ditto* a]nd meets a dog: pleasantness for all future. [z + 10]

[If he *ditto*] and meets a pig: he will have sons, his mind will be at peace.

If he *ditto* and meets a fox: he will have sons, his mind will be at peace. [z + 15]

If he *ditto* and meets a mouse: he will have always (enough) food; an important person will carry off his possessions.

If he *ditto* and meets a bird: something lost will return to him.

Of the last column of the present tablet, we have only the blank space under the colophon of which *Sm* 2073 preserves a small section in its extreme left corner and the fragment *K.* 11841 with a few broken ends of lines (*cf.* p. 319) which appear on its left column.

This brings us to the discussion of all those fragments which their "kenning" assigns to a tablet containing omina dealing with eating, etc., in one's dream. There are three such fragments (for a possible fourth, *cf.* below), but only one (*K.* 10663) possibly belongs to the Dream-Book and it hardly to our Tablet A.

Most of these fragments are either very small or their wording offers difficulties, so that the following presentation will not make satisfactory reading.

The fragment *K.* 10663 shows clearly the beginning of a series of omina containing the "kenning" KÚ, i.e., "he has eaten." The remainder of the protasis is lost in all instances; the prognostics are badly broken and do not allow any conclusions. A section of five lines precedes, but again only a few words can be read. The "kenning" of the first two omina of this section is *ilput* "he has touched." The fragment could possibly belong in the first column of our Tablet A (*cf.* above) and show the beginning of the KÚ-section. This is, however, unlikely since one is inclined to expect this tablet which contains so many KÚ-omina to begin with this same topic.

Smaller still is the fragment *Sm* 1458 which seems to come from a tablet with wide columns (a two-column tablet). After five broken omina (only KÚ and the first signs of the apodoses are preserved) we have a section of four lines which is completely alien to the type of text we are studying here. Only the verbs *i-qa-ri-šú*,[64] *ir-ta-na-ap-*[*pu-du*] and *i-sab-bu-bu* are preserved, and [*i*]*m-gur*, DÙ-*uš* in the last two lines. It cannot be proved that this fragment containing omina belongs to the Dream-Book or even to an excerpt from it.

The large fragment *K.* 6673 also comes from a tablet with wide columns. It shows two sections of KÚ-omina, followed by a section with the "kenning" KU.A which can neither be read nor translated. The names of the substances eaten are all broken off except for the end of one ŠAḪ-sign (i.e., "pig"). The apodoses are not true to type. *Cf.* "there will be confusion (*têšû*) in the country [. . .]" or "the wife of the man will d[ie]" or "he will become sick but recover." The repetition of the "kenning" in the last section (KU.A) with MIN is equally without parallel in the extant Nineveh fragments of the Dream-Book.[65]

At this point, we have to mention an important and unique fragment—*K.* 14884—which very likely contains KÚ-entries but is much older than the other texts of the Dream-Book coming from the library of Assurbanipal. According to its colophon, this tablet was written in the period of Assurnasirpal II, the son of Tukulti-Ninurta II, who ruled in Calaḫ (Kalḫu) from 883 B.C. to 859 B.C. Apparently this old copy of the Dream-Book was brought to Nineveh and incorporated into the royal library, a case which has few parallels.[66] The text begins in the customary way, "If a man in his dream [three signs]: his health [will be . . .]," and the subsequent lines take up the characteristic verb with the *ditto*-sign preceded by the word referring to the object of this specific activity of the dreaming person (*cf.* above *K.* 6673). Since the fourth line is again legible and shows the word "emmer-wheat," we suggest that the "kenning" of this tablet was KÚ "he eats." This is, to a certain extent, corroborated by the few beginnings of the last lines of the first column of the reverse. They mention fruits from various trees and correspond in their sequence roughly to that of the Tablet A (i.e., our copy of the

[63] The word *imirtu* is unknown but seems to owe its mention here to a pun: *immeru—imertu*.

[64] To *qarāšu cf.* hardly *Landsberger Fauna* p. 128 ("to tear to shreds").

[65] Another text which contains the "kenning" KÚ has been pointed out to me by Dr. F. W. Geers: *K.* 12443, a small fragment of ten incomplete lines, obviously omina. In four successive lines the sign KÚ appears. The first of these omina seems to run: "[If a man(?)] eats . . . (text: [x.N]E.ZA = [fro]gs(?)): the owner of the house [will]," then "[If a man(?)] eats . . . (text: [x y] z *šá lu uš*): as to the king: his country will rebel against him." Of the next two protases nothing is preserved but the sign KÚ, the apodoses are: "Irra (the pestilence) [will rage]" and "the inhabitants [ ]." The key-word of the preceding omen is preserved: *i-duk* "he has killed"; of its apodosis we can read only "the lady of the house [will]." The remaining lines are very difficult and broken. In view of the tenor of the prognostics, one is inclined to reject the fragment as part of the Dream-Book, but the sequence of KÚ-entries remains difficult to explain.

[66] *Cf.* e.g. *K.* 182 (*CT XXVIII* 47) on extispicy, the Gilgamesh fragment published in *AfO* 10: 363, *K.* 14934 (omina, *cf. King Suppl.*), and the astrological texts mentioned by Weidner in *AfO* 14: 174 n. 12 (and p. 178). Our text antedates, however, the mentioned scholarly tablets brought from Calah to Nineveh to constitute the basis of the library of Assurbanipal.

KÚ-Tablet).[67] Still it should be stressed that in no instance can the sign KÚ be seen on the fragment *K.* 14884.

We have now to turn to the fragments which belong to what has been termed on p. 269 Tablet B. This tablet poses an interesting problem because its colophon contains a catchline, i.e., the beginning of the next tablet in the series. *Cf.* below p. 281 for the pertinent discussion.

The "kenning" of the present three-column tablet is the verb SUM-*šú* "they have given him" (the corresponding Assur-fragment *KAR* 470 has the variant writing SUM-*nu-šú*), referring thus to dreams in which a variety of objects are being given to the dreaming person by unidentified persons. All fragments belong to the very same tablet and can be definitely located, making it relatively easy to establish the lacunae.

On the obverse (*cf.* for illustration figure 5) we have in the lower quarter of the tablet a large "join" of five fragments (*K.* 2018A, *K.* 12525, *Sm* 477, *Sm* 544 and *Sm* 1562) which shows that Tablet B had three columns. A similar situation exists on the reverse; the "join," *Sm* 801, *Sm* 952, and *Sm* 1024, stretches over nearly thirty lines and from the right to the left edge of the tablet. Both these "joins" contain fragments with two inscribed faces so that they fill specific sections of the gap. Then there are two more fragments, first 82-8-22, 538, which can be assigned according to its content (*cf.* below p. 277) and form (upper edge, traces of a column to the right) to the top of the second column of the obverse, and secondly *K.* 12842, a narrow "flake" which contains nothing but the group SUM-*šú* repeated eleven times. It has to be placed somewhere at the top of the third column of the obverse or the second of the reverse.

The first four columns and more than two-thirds of the fifth are taken up by omina containing the "kenning" SUM-*šú*. Then, after a dividing line, the characteristic verb changes to *imḫur* "he received" and—after a break of more than forty lines—we find another "kenning": *iṣbat* "he seized." Within the very extensive SUM-*šú* section—of the roughly 340 items only half are extant and many in poor condition—a rather consistent topical arrangement can be observed. Metal objects and seal-cylinders of precious stone start the enumeration, then come trees, wooden objects, and—after a wide gap—various other kinds of objects. The reverse seems less well organized, since identical topics appear twice, such as drinks, wooden objects.

Of the first ten lines of column I only the last object of a section beginning obviously with gold and silver utensils is known: "small copper kettle"; the names of the others are broken (apart from such words as "of copper," "of bronze") as are all prognostics.

[67] A comparison of the two lists is not without interest. The Calah tablet has GIŠ *šal-lu-r*[*u*] where the Nineveh text has GIŠ.ŠENNUR, and GIŠ.DIN for GIŠ.GEŠTIN.

The next section deals with cylinder-seals:

If (in his dream) one gives him a seal: [he will have] a son.
If one gives him a seal of lapis lazuli: the gods [ ].
If one gives him a seal of red stone: [he will have] sons and daughters.
If one gives him a mounted seal: [he will have] neither sons nor daughters.
If one gives him a seal of ivory(?): [he will attain] his heart's desire. [15]
If one gives him a seal of *mušgi/arru*-stone: he will not [attain] his heart's desire.
If one gives him an inscribed seal: he will have either a "name" or a son; a legitimate son.
If one gives him a seal with figures: he will have sons, pe[ace] of mind.
If one gives him a royal seal: there will be a protective god and a goddess for him, or also: [ ].
If one gives him an old seal: a legitimate son or: he will re[ceive] a sign. [20]
If one gives him a perforated seal: he will have a legitimate son.
If one gives him an unperforated seal: he will have a deaf son.[68]
If he wears a seal and one takes (it) away: either his son or his daughter will die.

With the next line the topic of seals inscribed with names other than that of the dreamer is discussed. Unfortunately the essential passages are broken in nearly all omina:

If one gives him a seal with his (own) name (on it): he will have a name and offspring.
If [one gives h]im a seal with the name of [on it]: for an important person: poverty; for a person of low status: riches. [25]
If [he wears(?)] a seal with [his] n[ame] and one takes (it) away: his son will die.
If [one gives him a seal with the] n[ame of]: an important person will come to shame, a person of low station will acquire riches.
If one gives him a seal with the name [of]: he will fall sick either of dropsy or of leprosy.
If one gives him a seal with the na[me of]: he will obtain his heart's desire.
If one gives him a seal [ ]: he will prosper, he will stand up (in court) against his adversary. [30]
If one gives him a seal [ ]: his son will [die].

[68] Here again we seem to be able to follow the associations which underlie the rather specific forecast. The words for "deaf" in Akkadian mean basically "clogged up" (*sukkuku, ṭummumu*) and the unperforated cylinder-seal seems to have been considered a "clogged up" seal which, as such, predicts a deaf—or possibly a dumb—son.

If one gives him a seal with [the name] of his father: loss of his father's estate, his head [ ].
If one gives him a seal with the name of his father: he w[ill].

It cannot be denied that the predictions of this entire section bear overwhelmingly on progeny (*cf.* also note 16). The fact that cylinder-seals because of their function as well as their highly individualized form, are likely to be considered not only as identifying marks but also as "carriers" of the individuality of the person who wears and uses them tends naturally to foster their association with children, especially sons whose function is to extend the personal existence of the father beyond the natural limitations.

After some broken lines and a gap of about ten lines, the continuation of the text is preserved on the lower left column of the "join," *K.* 2018A and others. After ten broken lines (*cf.* pp. 322 f.) showing only apodoses (note "he will take ill," "his god will have mercy upon him") dreams are recorded in which the dreaming person is given some characteristic product—either the fruit or another essential part of a series of twelve trees. The enumeration is terminated by two pairs of omina which mention respectively GIŠ.MEŠ ZU and NU.ZU as well as GIŠ.ŠIM ZU and NU.ZU, i.e., "known (and unknown) wood-material" and "known (and unknown) aromatic material" (*cf.* above p. 269 for other instances) which indicate the nature of the tree products listed in the present section. Patently cuttings of the mentioned trees, perhaps even resinous exudations, etc., which are customarily used for fumigation purposes, are meant.

[If] one gives him boxwood: he will be happy (lit.: shine).
If one gives him *mesu*-wood: he will have daughters.
If one gives him terebinth: the deity will present him with "life" (i.e., health).
If one gives him cedar: either his father or his first (born) son will die.
If one gives him cypress: he will come to an end in his prime.[69] [y + 15]
If one gives him juniper: he will experience a pleasant year.
If one gives him *miḫru*-wood: he will have no rival (*māḫiru*).
If one gives him poplar(?): he will get a wife.
If one gives him fir: his house will be happy (lit.: shine).
If one gives him some wood he knows: long days (i.e., life). [y + 20]
If one gives him some wood (he does) not know: the king will take away his possessions, end of (his) days.
If one gives him aromatic matter he knows: he will find (lit.: see) (something) lost.
If one gives him aromatic matter (he does) not know: the king will take away his possessions.

The text then shifts to the tools of various crafts; it is preserved in the last line of our column and on the top of the second column, which happens to be extant on the fragment 85-5-22, 538:

If one gives him the (characteristic) tool of the carpenter: he will own the house of (his) adversary.[70]
[If one gives him the t]ool of the leat[herworker]: there will be constant[71] expenses for him, var.: he will have (expenses).
[If one gives him the t]ool of the sm[ith]: an evil spell (*mâmîtu*) will seize him.
[If one gives him the too]l of the stone-cutter: his possessions will prosper.
[If one gives him the tool of] the potter: a "mighty king"[72] will seize (his) riches.
[If one gives him the tool of the re]ed-worker: joy of heart will follow him. [5]
[If one gives him the tool of the copp]ersmith: poverty and want will seize him.
[If] one gives him [ ]: he will have barley and silver.

[69] The apodosis *ina lalîšu iqattî* is unique, the omina have mostly *ina lalîšu imât* (sometimes replacing the syllabic spelling by the logogram LA as e.g. *CT XXVIII* 28: 23, *KAR* 212 ii: 12). *Cf.* furthermore *ina* LA-*šú* ḪA.A (*KAR* 212 ii: 28), É.BI EN-*šú* LA-*šú ul i-šeb-bi* (*CT XXXVIII* 10: 3, 12: 69) "as to this house, its owner will not become sated with its *lâlu*," which has to be connected with É.BI EN-*šú ana la-li-šú i-lak* (*CT XXXVIII* 10: 17) and *la-la* É.BI [ ] (*CT XXXIX* 39: 20) and especially with É *la-li-šú* DÙ-*uš* (*BRM IV* 22: 19) "he will build a house for his *lalû*." *Cf.* the atypical phrase with *lâlu*: ^{d}EŠ$_4$.DAR *ina la-li-šu* UŠ.MEŠ-*šú* (*CT XXXVIII* 10: 9, in *KAR* 212 ii: 22 with LA) "the protective goddess will be with him in his *lâlu*." The term *lalû* (LA) is one of the several *eigenbegrifflich* Akkadian key words which it is easy to mistranslate by means of such glib and meaningless words as *verschwenderische Fülle, Wonne, Vollkraft* and which are so extremely difficult to circumscribe in their semantic range and complicated connotations.

[70] Assuming an omitted EN (hence: É <EN>.INIM.MA *i-be-el*), *cf.* from the commentary to the series *šumma âlu* (46th tabl.) published in *CT XLI* 32: 8–9 the otherwise not preserved omen "[If] he changes the house of the man and rules the house" explained as follows: "he changes the inhabitants (lit.: sons) of the house and [ ] somebody else rules the house (É *i-be-el*)."

[71] *sar-dat-su* as a metathesis for *sadrat-su*.

[72] The age-old Sumerian royal title LUGAL.KALA.GA which is customarily but inadequately rendered by "mighty king" assumes here an interesting and novel connotation. Apparently, prosperity and personal security of the private person were considered to be adversely influenced by a ruler who did justice to this epitheton. A similar situation seems to be reflected in the prognostics of certain Old Babylonian omina which refer to the equally ancient Mesopotamian royal title *šar kiššati(m)*, conventionally translated as "king of the universe." In *YOS X* 56, a collection of omina dealing with the interpretation of misformed newborn animals (lambs) we read (I: 37) that "there will be a *šar kiššati* in the country" in a context clearly indicating that this event had evil implications. Other occurrences of such a prediction (*cf. YOS X* 56 III: 25, 33–34, in liver-omina *YOS X* 17: 8, 61: 5) do not reveal the nature of the prediction. *Cf.* also note 19 for another instance.

[If] one gives him [ ]: he will have slaves.
[If] one gives him [ ]: losses [will].
[If one giv]es him [ ]: he will have a helper, [he will see again] his lost property. [10]
[If one gives] him [ ]: . . . will "go out" to the man; or also: a . . . [will be] upon him.
[If one gives him]: he will have slaves; or also: calumniation [will fall[73]] upon him.
[If one gives him :] silly accusations [will fall upon him].
[If one gives him :] [he will see again] his lost property.

Separated by a gap of at least thirty lines, the middle column of the fragment *K.* 2018A shows that the sequence of omina has shifted somewhere in the broken part of the tablet to the enumeration of all kinds of viands given to the dreaming person. The first thirteen lines are damaged (all prognostics are missing); they apparently bring to an end the list of meat portions which were part of the normal fare. We find here (*cf.* p. 323) only the last items of the "mutton"-section (roasted: AL.ŠEG$_6$.GÂ) and then such general qualifications as "thick (piece of meat)" (GUR$_4$.RA), "spoiled" (AL.ḪAB.BA) and—as always at the end of such enumerations (*cf.* above p. 269)—"unknown (meat)." Follows then a group of five omina concerned with the eating of a type of meat not attested elsewhere called KIN (lines II: x + 8–10) and characterized as roasted or not, but also as coming from a goat. The next two lines mention *qir-bi* MÚD (lines II: x + 11) which is then (x + 12) explained in a gloss (indicated in the traditional way of the Mesopotamian scribes by means of a special sign) as KIN. Since *qirbu* refers most likely to some part of the intestines (*cf.* also Hussey, *JCS* **2**: 30), KIN is rather likely to be located in the same region, possibly referring to a specific organ expected to carry a message (KIN) of the gods which the Mesopotamian extispex was supposed to "read."

The last entries of the group "meat" run as follows:

If one gives him gazelle meat: a share . . . [ ].
If one gives him human meat: making of [ ].
If one gives him dog meat: his *šukussu*-field[74] will be productive. [x + 15]
If one gives him pork meat: bad health.
If one gives him donkey meat: he will find something which does not belong to him.
If one gives him horse meat: he will come to shame in court.
If one gives him wild donkey meat: want of barley.
If one gives him dried meat: an evil spell will seize him. [x + 20]

This somewhat jumbled enumeration (the last item is clearly out of place) is followed by a section dealing with the eating of NI.LU (reading unknown), usually translated by "tallow," a fat of rather solid consistency. This group ends obviously (*cf.* the last entries) with the bottom of the column. The broken passages of the British Museum tablet can be restored by means of an Assur-fragment in the Berlin Museum (*cf.* pp. 260, 324.)

If one gives him tallow: . . . . . he will obtain in(?) hardship.
If one gives him beef tallow: he will grow old.
If one gives him mutton tallow: seizure (a disease) of the eyes.
If one gives him lion tallow: he will have no rival.[75]
If one gives him wolf tallow: his (personal) god is angry with him.[76] [x + 25]
If one gives him dog tallow: evil seizure (var.: seizure of sin).
If one gives him tallow from a known wild animal: terror will seize him.
If one gives him tallow from an unknown wild animal: (blank space).

After some broken lines on 82-8-22, 538 at the top of column III of the obverse, a wide gap robs us again of a number of sub-topics. In the lower third of the third column,[77] we read about objects, mostly of wood, given to the dreamer, a large section of which seems to have likewise filled the greater part of the next column (the first of the reverse, *cf.* fig. 6). The arrangement is not very coherent, an observation which holds true for the entire SUM-tablet (our Tablet B) which shows clear instances of repetitions and inconsistencies (*cf.* e.g. note 83).

[If] one gives him the head of a pick-axe: his head [will be cut off].[78]

[73] This and the next omen mention *tuššu* and INIM.NU.GAR.RA in analogous contexts. One would, however, expect NÍG.NU.GAR.RA which corresponds to *nullāti* (*cf.* simply *Deimel ŠL* 597/107 = 132(!) = 425(!)) and often appears side by side with *tuššu* (*TCL III* 93, *LTBA* II no. 2: 409, etc.), so that one has to assume here a mistake of the scribe. Normally the prognostications have INIM *tuššu elīšu imaqqut* (e.g. *CT XXXIX* 4: 28, *KAR* 212: rev. iii: 29), but *cf.* also *CT XXXI* 38 i: 7.

[74] For this designation of a field *cf.* now v. Soden, *Orientalia* NS **22**: 200.

[75] The appearance of the "key-word" UR.MAḪ ("lion") in the protasis seems to attract a reference to GABA.RI ("rival") in the apodosis; *cf.* apart from the Dream-Book also *CT XX* 7a: 18 and *CT XXXVIII* 21: 3, *cf.* note 89.

[76] From here to the end of the column, the Assur-fragment (*cf.* above) yields the ends of the lines.

[77] The fragment *K.* 12842 containing eleven lines (upper edge), which show only SUM-*šú* in each line followed sometimes by the beginning wedges of the first words of the apodoses, belongs somewhere at the top of the third column of the obverse or the first of the reverse.

[78] This restoration is based on the wording of similar apodoses. *Cf.* TAR-*as* SAG.DU in *CT XXX* 21: rev. 8, *XXVIII* 45: 7, *KAR* 423 iii: 34 (TAR-*as* SAG.DU LÚ) and also the references to the cutting off of the "head of the army" (SAG.DU EREN$_2$) e.g. in *CT XXXI* 34: 4, *BRM IV* 12: 80, *KAR* 153 r. 30, 423 rev. i: 71. All these passages come from liver-omina while the follow-

If one gives him a chariot: . . . [x + 5]
If one gives him a silver (coated) chariot:[79] he will obtain something which does not belong to him.
If one gives him a wheel: he will have twins.
If one gives him a wagon: he will obtain his desire.
If one gives him some (other) part of a chariot: income will come [in].
If one gives him the reins: his days will be lo[ng]. [x + 10]
If one gives him a leather shield:[80] he will get out of (his) distress.
If one gives him a goad: this man will have no equal.
If one gives him a door: he will grow old.
If one gives him a bar: he will receive what his heart wish(es).
If one gives him a bolt: the secret (lit.: word) will not leak out. [x + 15]
If one gives him a stylus: he will ha[ve] a helper.
If one gives him a reed PEŠ.GI:[81] he will obtain his desires.
If one [gi]ves h[im] a ree[d]: he will reach top-rank, (*Glossenkeil*): his days [will be].

The somewhat obvious associative connections between dream-content and prognostication in the preceding omina are worth pointing out: the wheel—always occurring in pairs and rigidly attached to the turning axle-tree—suggests the birth of twins, the goad a powerful position, the bolt the guarding of a secret. Note also the dreams of the full and the empty goblet listed in the continuation of the present group (rev. I: x + 7–8).

The first omina on the lower half of the first column of the reverse (after seven lines of which only the sign DIŠ is preserved) still deal with objects given to the dreaming person. The mention of a goblet causes the compiler to shift to various drinks (*Stichwortzusammenhang*) whereupon he returns to the topic of animal fat.

If one gives him a stool:[82] [ ].
If one gives him a spoon: [ ].
If one gives him a "small spoon": the se[same will not prosper(?)]. [x + 5]
If one gives him a scoop: the sesame will pros[per].
If one gives him an empty goblet: the poor will become poorer.
If one gives him a full goblet: he will have a name and offspring.
If one gives him wine: a friendly word; his days will be long.
If one gives him beer: his (personal) god will remove his "heart" from him; they will speak to him but he will forget.[83] [x + 10]
If one gives him an unknown kind of beer:[84] he will worry.
If one gives him honey: in <his> family (there will be) cases of death.
If one gives him mountain-honey: he will obtain his heart's desire.
If one gives him oil: sweet word(s), friendliness.
If one gives him scented oil: ditto [x + 15]
If one gives him beef "oil":[85] profits are in store for him.
If one gives him mutton "oil": prosperity of his term (of office?).[86]
If one gives him bird "oil": they will shout: "Watch out, watch out!"[87]
If one gives him fish oil: there will be steady expenses for him.[88]
If one gives him lion "oil": he will reach perfection.[89] [x + 20]
If one gives him wolf "oil": an attack of the *sili'tu*-disease.[90]
If one gives him dog "oil": he will be imprisoned.

ing rather explicit prediction comes from the series *šumma âlu*: "A robber (LÚ.SA.GAZ) will cut off a head" (*TCL VI* 9: 21). *Cf.* furthermore the dream mentioned in the Susa tablet (p. 258) and the portent reported in *CT XXIX* 48: 2 "a cut-off head laughed."

[79] For the actual existence of silver-coated chariots *cf.* simply *Salonen Landfahrzeuge* 56, 147.

[80] Probably the shield was here considered part of the equipment of a chariot. The spellings in this (KUŠ *ka-ba-ab*) and the preceding line (KUŠ *a-ša-at*) are very irregular.

[81] This sign group occurs here only and is not understandable, possibly on account of a scribal error.

[82] The preceding two lines show otherwise unknown logograms: ḪÚL.x and ḪÚL.HAB, denoting objects given to the dreamer.

[83] *Cf.* the analogous prediction on rev. ii: x + 15 of the same tablet. See also note 94.

[84] This translation proposes to render the idiomatic wording of the protasis: KAŠ.SAG ZU NU ZU "beer known-unknown" in analogy to the idiom *an-nu* ZU-*ú la* ZU-*ú* in *KAR* 45: 19 (*cf. OLZ* 19 (1916) 297).

[85] While the ligature NI + GIŠ which in Assyrian script is often used instead of NI.GIŠ refers in Akkadian consistently to liquid vegetable fat (sesame oil), it seems that it has to be rendered here simply "fat" in contradistinction to NI.LU (*cf.* above p. 278 f.) "tallow." Only in the first two items of our enumeration is the translation "oil" warranted. To show this situation the sign is rendered in the text by "oil" (in quotes).

[86] The prediction belongs again (*cf.* above note 72) to the realm of public life, *cf.* BALA LUGAL NU SI.SÁ "the dynasty of the king will not prosper" in *CT XXVII* 21: 9, BALA LUGAL SI.ŠÁ in *CT XXVII* 14: 13, or BALA LUGAL GI.NA "the dynasty of the king is well established" in *CT XXVII* 25: 18 and its contrasts: *taqtît* BALA "end of the dynasty" (*passim*, Old Babylonian: *YOS X* 28: 8), etc.

[87] The obvious pun with *iṣṣuru* "bird" is difficult to explain philologically. One expects either *uṣur* (I/1) or *iṣṣar* (I/2) but not *i-ṣur*.

[88] While ZI.GA is considered here a masculine noun, its gender is clearly feminine in the passage ZI.GA *sar-dat-su* obv. col. ii: 1 of our tablet.

[89] *Cf.* the "physiognomic" omen which shows the same association between protasis and apodosis: "If (a person) has (the eye of) a lion (*labbu*): *ga-mi-ru-tam* DÙ-*uš*" in *CT XXVIII* 29: 22, also *Kraus Physiognomatik* no. 13: 7, etc.

[90] *sili'tu* is a general term denoting a malignant disease. The native commentaries equate the verb *salû* simply with *marāṣu* (commentary to *šumma izbu* 1, 25, *is-sal-la-a'* = *i-mar-ra-aṣ*) and *sili'tu* with GIG (commentary to *Ludlul-bêl-nêmeqi*, *K.* 3291 i: 55 = *VR* 47).

If one gives him donkey "oil": he will be happy (lit.: shine).
If one gives him horse "oil": god and king will catch him.
If one gives him mule "oil": his name will not prosper.[91] [x + 25]
If one gives him wild donkey "oil": he will die outside of the city.[92]
If one gives him stag "oil": the bed will "seize" him for one year.
If one gives him ibex "oil": the *rābiṣu*-spirit will seize him.
If one gives him doe "oil": his daughter will die.
If one gives him gazelle "oil": his daughter w[ill die]. [x + 30]
If one gives him panther "oil": he will be happy (lit.: shine).
[If one gives] him [ ]: there will be death in the house.

Of the next column, the second of the reverse, we have about half of the lines distributed on two fragments: *K.* 12525 which gives us the first thirteen lines and the central column of the reverse of the "join" *K.* 2018A, etc. (in fact: *Sm* 801 + *Sm* 952 + *Sm* 1024), with about thirty lines. A gap of about fifteen lines separates these fragments. The sequence of omina favors small topical groups which do not seem to be logically linked together:

[If] one gives him me[at-broth]: bad health.
[If] one gives him [an infusion(?) of *imḫur*]-*ešrā* plants: his possessions will flourish.
[If] one gives him [an infusion(?) of the fruits(?) of the] *šunû*-tree: they will claim of him what he has left, evil seizure.
If one gives him vinegar: he will have brothers. [5]
If one gives him a water-measurer (*Hydrometra*):[93] his possessions will get lost.
If [one gives him] linen: [the h]and of the god will be placed upon him.
If one gives him a linen garment: he will stand up [against] (his) [riv]al.
If one gives him a garment: [ ].
If one gives him a new garment: [ ] days. [10]
If one gives him an old g[arment:].
If one gives him [garment]s: [he will have (?)] daughters.

Nearly half of the omina of the preserved lower half of the column are badly damaged, mostly on the left side which contains the dream contents. In the first damaged section (*cf.* p. 325) we find a number of atypical or rare prognostications, such as "he will die of dropsy" (x + 6), "he will suffer (lit.: acquire) from consumption" (x + 7), "he will have a protective angel" (x + 9) or "(divine) mercy is in store for him, he will become important." A warning not to leave the house after having experienced a specific dream (content lost) is contained in line x + 12, a parallel to the passage discussed above p. 272.

The well-preserved section begins with what might be called a moralizing note: water is connected with long life, but wine given to a person in his dream predicts a short one:

If one gives him water: his days will be long.
If [one gi]ves [him] beer: they will speak to him (but) he will forget.[94] [x + 15]
If [one gi]ves [him] wine: his days will be short.
If [one give]s [him] water from a river: his [pr]ofit will be large.
If [one gives him] water from a well: riches will . . .[95]
If [one gives him] water from an oil-well( ): he will experience confusion.
If [one gives h]im water from a dit[ch]: quarrels. [x + 20]
If [one gives hi]m water from a ca[nal]: the Storm-god will flood his harvest.
If [one gives him] water [ ]: confusion.[96]

Six broken lines bring us to the end of the section having the kenning SUM-*šú*. They contain only a few apodoses (*cf.* p. 326) worth mentioning: "he will fall through a curse" (x + 23), "he will find something" (x + 25), "he will make a lordly utterance"[97] (x + 26) and "hunger will seize him" (x + 27).

While nearly five of the six columns of our tablet are taken up by one "key-word" (SUM-*šú*), what is left of the last few lines of the fifth and of the lower third of the sixth column is to be divided into two groups, one containing the kenning *imḫur* "he received" and the other *iṣbat* "he seized."

Only the characteristic verb and the apodoses of two omina of the first group are extant. The first belongs to the "public" type and has, for unknown

[91] The fact that the mule cannot beget progeny was proverbial in Akkadian (*cf. KAR* 174 IV: 15 f. and Ebeling in *MAOG* 2(3): 48) and might have furnished the association linking the prognostication of the omen to the dream-content.

[92] The *sirrimu*, wild donkey, is the typical animal of the desert, the land outside the circle of human habitation (*cf.* its epitheton *binût ṣêri* "creature of the desert" e.g. *KAR* 6: 28, the passages which—like *VAS* I 70 v: 11–12—describe him as roaming outside of the city, etc.) which seems to have caused the prediction "he will die outside (*ina kidi*) of his city."

[93] For this animal named in Akkadian "the harvester of the surface of the water," *cf.* Meissner in *MAOG* **3** (3): 14.

[94] It is probably no accident that the apodosis "he will forget what they say to him" $DUG_4.DUG_4$-*šú i-maš-ši* (Tablet B rev. i x + 10) and $DUG_4.DUG_4.GA$-*šú i-maš-ši* (Tablet B rev. ii x + 15) appears in both instances after a protasis mentioning beer. *Cf.* furthermore above note 83.

[95] The text has KUN with phonetic complement *-ut/ṭ/d*. No fitting Akkadian equivalent for KUN is known.

[96] Here *dulḫû* (for *durḫû*, *cf.* von Soden, *Symbolae Koschaker* 202, n. 15) replaces the customary *duluḫḫû*, *cf. kubrû* and *kuburrû*.

[97] This passage (DUG_4 *e-til-la* GAR-*an*) offers us the reading of the phrase DUG_4 NIR.GÁL GAR-*an* (*cf.* note 29 for references) and indicates also that É NIR GÁL DÙ-*uš* has to be read *bîta etilla ippuš*.

reasons, strayed into the Dream-Book: "rebellion will seize (him), or, also, (internal) troubles for one year."

The seizing of objects or catching of animals in dreams is the topic of the last section, and this brings us to the end of the Tablet B.

If he seizes the hand of an important person: [ ].
If he seizes the garment of an important person: important [ ].
If he seizes the crescent: (in/on) an unknown place [ ]. [x + 5]
If he seizes the clothing of a small child: a small child has . . . [him].
If he seizes a lion: same.[98]
If he seizes a wolf: same.
If he seizes a fox: he will seize/catch a protecting angel.
If he seizes a fox and he escapes: he will have a protective angel, but it will go away. [x + 10]
If he seizes a cat: obtaining of wish(es), he will have a protective angel.
If he seizes a snake: he will have a protective angel.
If he seizes a he-goat: an evil spirit[99] will seize him.
If he seizes a ram: the court (lawsuit) will seize him.
If he seizes a female dog(?): he will seize/catch a protective angel, upon the command of the deity . . . him. [x + 15]
If he seizes a god or a king: the . . . of the god or king will catch him.

After a dividing line we have the catchline, i.e., the first line of the next tablet (called provisionally Tablet B+1):

If a man <in> his dream chews barley: accusers will accuse him.

This catchline is some twenty-five lines removed from the lower edge of the tablet and is followed by an empty space after which we see a line of signs deeply impressed—or perhaps erased (according to a note of Dr. Klauber made in his copybook in 1913)—which can be taken as the traces of the following words: "[ ]th tablet of the series *dZiqīqu*." If this reading should prove correct—and the traces do favor it—Tablet B would definitely belong to our series and—what is still more important—we would thus gain the first line of another tablet of the Dream-Book. A glance at the list given on p. 262 shows that there is ample room for two—and more—tablets in the gap between Tablet IV and Tablet VIII (of which we know nothing but the beginnings of the "headlines" *cf.* above p. 266). Since Tablet A (the KÚ-tablet) is not likely to have begun with the first line "If a man in his dream chews barley" (the catchline at the end of Tablet B), because it is nearly certain that the section with the "kenning" KÚ began in the very first line of Tablet A, we have to locate not two (Tablet A and B) but three tablets (Tablet A, B and B+1) in the gap just mentioned; i.e., Tablet V, VI, and VII. Hence Tablet A represents either no. V or VII, Tablet B either no. V or VI and Tablet B+1 either no. VI or VII.

The existence of another unassigned tablet—Tablet C—does not lead to any complications, because—as will be shown presently—it is rather likely that it represents Tablet II of the Dream-Book. We thus gain the following picture of the omen tablets of our series:

Tablet II = Tablet C (provisional)
Tablet III
Tablet IV (only "headline" extant)
Tablet V = Tablet A (provisional)
Tablet VI = Tablet B (provisional)
Tablet VII = Tablet B+1 (provisional) (only "headline" extant)
Tablet VIII (only "headline" extant)
Tablet IX

Tablet C is preserved on a group of fragments which can be joined together to form a comparatively well preserved two-column tablet 85 lines long per column, the obverse very badly broken and the reverse still showing half of its first and nearly all of its second column. At the very bottom of the last column (col. II of the reverse) we see the end of the division-line drawn under the last omen as well as the scanty remains of the last sign of the line below it which was the catchline, i.e., the first line of the next tablet (Tablet C+1). Unfortunately, the preserved part of this last sign (probably [N]E but not the expected: [*e-pu-u*]*s*) does not fit the known first line of Tablet III which, according to the above proposed reconstruction should be = Tablet C+1. For this reason the identification of Tablet C with Tablet II has to remain a working hypothesis offered primarily to reduce the number of tablets which cannot be definitely assigned in the sequence of the Dream-Book.

The topical arrangement of Tablet C is rather complex. The obverse and the first half of the first column of the reverse form a large section dealing with dream-travels to heaven and the netherworld and with astronomical and meteorological phenomena seen in dreams. The balance of the tablet is concerned with more rational activities, such as climbing and felling trees, carrying objects, and falling, etc., into a river. Here, however, the compiler has thought it appropriate to insert a section of eleven lines dealing with dreams of flying, reflecting thus—exceptionally in our series—actual dream-experiences (*cf.* below p. 287 f.).

[98] The Sumerian formula ZI.BU.BI.DU occurs frequently in omen texts (*cf.* e.g. *šumma âlu CT XXXVIII* 35: rev. 47) with the meaning "same (prognostic)."

[99] Our text seems to differentiate dKAL and dKAL+BE, the former referring to the protective personal deity (known as Lamassu), the latter to some malevolent being of the same kind. *Cf.* e.g. *KAR* 58: 42, also *CT XVI* 14 IV: 9/10, 19: 3/4, etc.

The first column (of *K.* 25+) begins, after twenty-three lost lines, with the *ditto* sign which is repeated forty times up to a dividing line after which we read as the first protasis of a new section, "If (a man in his dream) descends into the netherworld," which phrase is again taken up by a series of lines beginning with *ditto* up to the edge of the tablet. This analogy in the arrangement, the fact that the dream-contents of this first section—as far as preserved—deal repeatedly with gods and the luminaries of the sky as well as the wording of l. 59 "If *ditto* and he comes down and . . ." entitle us to assume that the line to which all the *ditto*'s of the first section refer (that is line 1 of the tablet) ran as follows: "If a man (in his dream) ascends to heaven."

If this is correct it would correspond to the first line of Tablet II (preserved as the catchline in the colophon of Tablet I, *cf.* p. 262) which runs, "If a man in his dream [ ] to [ ]." It is, therefore, possible that *K.* 25+ actually represents Tablet II of the Dream-Book, so that this line could be restored to, "If a man in his dream [ascends] to [heaven]."

Before presenting a translation of the very broken omina of the "ascension"-group, it should be mentioned that Tablet IX col. I: 3–5 (*cf.* above p. 267) takes up in the context of dream-travels the two main topics of the obverse of the present tablet. One omen speaks there of ascending to heaven and two (or perhaps more, the text breaks off) of descending to the netherworld. There are more instances of listing identical dream-contents in different contexts in our Dream-Book; *cf.*, e.g., p. 271. Note furthermore that the Susa tablet (*cf.* above pp. 257 f.) discusses the same topic as our Tablet C (= II) and contains several identical omina.

If he *ditto* and the gods [ ]: th[ere will be] and sin.
If he *ditto* and with the go[d]: the[re will be] and sin. [30]
If he *ditto* and the moon and [the sun].
If he *ditto* and the moon [ ].
If he *ditto* and the sun [ ].
If he *ditto* and with [ ].
If he *ditto* and [ ] the field [ ]. [35]
If he *ditto* and Shamash [ ].
If he *ditto* and dust [ ].
If he *ditto* and . . . [ ].
If he *ditto* and sei[zes(?)] a plow [ ].
If he *ditto* and his (personal) god . . . [ ]. [40]
If he *ditto* and the Dilbat-star (i.e., Venus) [ ].
If he *ditto* and the constellation "Yoke" [ ].
If he *ditto* and with the go[d].
If he *ditto* and with the go[d].
If he *ditto* and to the house [ ]. [45]
If he *ditto* and prostrates him[self].
If he *ditto* and fa[lls].
If he *ditto* and . . . [ ].
If he *ditto* and [ ] in/on the rim[100] . . . [ ].
If he *ditto* and seizes the stars: [ ]. [50]
If he *ditto* and eats the stars: [ ].
If he *ditto* and falls into a river: [ ].
If he *ditto*, falls into a river and [ ].
[If he *ditto*] and comes down and eats faeces: [ ].
[If he *ditto*] and eats tallow: [ ]. [55]
[If he *ditto*] and eats something: [ ].
[If he *ditto* and] enters the temple of his (personal) god and his god[ ].
[If he *ditto* and enters the temple of his (personal) god].
[If he *ditto* and enters] the temp[le of]. [60]
[If he *ditto* a]nd his (personal) god . . . [ ].
[If he *ditto* a]nd his (personal) god . . . [ ].
If he *ditto* and to the god [ ].
If he *ditto* and to Shamash [ ].
If he *ditto* and the moon and the sun [ ]. [65]
If he *ditto* and the dead see [him].
If he *ditto* and the gods of heaven [cur]se him[101] . . . [ ].
If he *ditto* and, together with the god, his star comes forth[102] and is seen: release of [ ].
If he hears in heaven repeatedly rumors[103] of accusations: he will have worries [ ].
If the god enters the inner part of heaven[104] and is seen: the price of barley will be weighed[105] . . . [ ]. [70]

The few preserved lines of this section pose so many problems and demonstrate so convincingly how restricted our knowledge of Mesopotamian religion is, that one realizes here much more clearly than anywhere else in the Dream-Book the amount of information we have lost because of its bad state of preservation.

The text now turns to dream-travels into the netherworld:

[100] For the term *ṭurru*, *cf.* provisionally Goetze, *Crozer Quarterly* **23**: 77.

[101] Restored after the parallel passage of the Susa tablet, *cf.* above p. 259. The corresponding omen with the blessing (*karābu*) appears in the Susa text but not on our tablet.

[102] One expects *ú-ṣi-ma* but the traces of the first sign do not fit this reading.

[103] For *tukkû*, *cf.* J.-R. Kupper in *RA* **45**: 120 ff. The same omen recurs on our tablet rev. i: 8.

[104] Meaning obscure.

[105] Compare the following apodoses bearing on the same "motif": KI.LAM LAL-*al CT XXXIX* 33: 42 (*šumma âlu*), etc., and *ku-ur-ru iš-ša-qá-al YOS X* 42 ii: 11, 25: 40, also *YOS X* 24: 32, 38. All passages refer clearly to high prices, but it remains uncertain whether *šaqālu* refers to the "weighing" of barley instead of the customary measuring in measures of capacity, or whether one has to assume that the nuance "to be(come) expensive" (semantic development: "weighed," i.e., "rare" said of rains and floods; *cf.* F. R. Kraus, *ZA* **43**: 109 f., Th. Bauer, *ZA* **43**: 311 and *Landsberger MSL* I: 228) grew out of "to be(come) rare."

If he descends into the netherworld: he will die but not be buried in the ground, [his] foundation [will (not) be secure].[106]

If he descends into the netherworld and the dead appear: short days [ ] in his family [there will be cases of death].

If he *ditto* and the dead appear: an evil spirit (*utukku*) [will seize] this man; the man [has received] in the dream a reminder of the gods concerning (impending) doom. [75]

If he *ditto* and he sees a dead person: upsurge of evi[l].

If he *ditto* and the dead curse him: there is blessing for him upon the command of the deity, [long] days.[107]

If he *ditto* and the dead bless him: he will not be buried in the ground.[108]

If he *ditto* and the dead rejoice over him: the rich will become poor, the poor will become rich; this man will die but will not be buried where he was born. [80]

If he *ditto* and a dead person prostrates himself (before him): he will die but will not lie (undisturbed) in the ground.

If he *ditto* and a dead person blesses him: he will die through the collapse of a wall.

If he *ditto* and a dead person kisses him: he will die a death caused by a cold(?).[109]

If he *ditto* and kisses a dead person: he will die a death caused by a cold(?).

If he *ditto* and bites a dead person: he will die through a falling roof-beam. [85]

The strange phrase "the man [has received] in the dream a reminder of the gods concerning (impending) doom" has to be pointed out not only because a statement of such general nature is extremely rare in cuneiform literature, but because its appearance within the stereotyped sequence of items of an omen-collection can be considered unique. We seem to have here an unparalleled instance of a redactional addition which is neither explanatory nor didactic in its purpose, but rather homiletic.

If one assumes that the section dealing with the netherworld was as long as that of the dream-travels to heaven, two thirds of the lost second column can be supposed to have been taken up by this topic. As to the balance of this column we are able to establish the contents of the last four lines because of the fact that the fragment *K.* 2239 comes from a copy of Tablet C which happened to contain more lines to the column than *K.* 25+. The difference seems to have been at least four lines, because the first line of rev. col. I of *K.* 25+ corresponds to line x + 6 of *K.* 2239 which is followed by three more lines before the break. The left column of the same tablet (*K.* 2239) has helped us already (*cf.* above note 108) to restore the last six lines of the first column of *K.* 25+. For the use made of *K.* 2239 to complete the partly damaged reverse of *K.* 25+, *cf.* below p. 284.

We have, therefore, to place at the very end of the second column the following omina taken from the fragment *K.* 2239:

If a star [ ].
If a star [ ] upon the m[an].
If a star [urinates] his urine up[on the man:] will die or also: [ ] will die.
If the stars [fall] from the sky upo[n the man:].

After this line, *K.* 2239 begins to coincide with the first lines of the first column (reverse) of the main tablet *K.* 25+ for four lines. This column itself is preserved on the small joined fragments *K.* 2205 and *K.* 2216 covering lines 1–4 and on the right column of *K.* 25 rev. with the lines 9–19. The reverse of the already utilized fragment *K.* 2239 which comes from another copy of our tablet helps us to reduce the gap somewhat. As a matter of fact, the relationship between obverse and reverse of the fragment *K.* 2239 shows that it came from the last column of a two-column tablet which had only a few lines more to the column than *K.* 25+.

The "falling" of stars from the sky seems to have been considered in Mesopotamia as being of bad augury. *Cf.* the apodosis of an omen of the series *šumma izbu* (*CT XXVII* 47: 26) "end of the dynasty, a great star will fall" or the unpublished list of evil portents *K.* 2315+, enumerating among many other untoward and ill-foreboding occurrences also ḪUL ŠUB MUL.ME "the evil (consequences) of the falling of stars" or also the well-known text (*Rm* 155) in which a scribe collected the prodigies predicting the downfall of the dynasty of Agade (*CT XXIX* 48–49) where we find MUL.MEŠ TA AN-*e* ŠUB.ŠUB.MEŠ-*ni* "stars fell repeatedly from the sky." For a rain of falling stars *cf.* also *LKA* 70 II: 23–24.

The topic of the "falling" of stars is continued on the reverse of *K.* 25+:

If the stars fall upon the man: calumniation will befall the man.

If a star falls upon the house of the man: unfounded accusations[110] will be he[ard].

[106] The term SUḪUŠ (Akk. *išdu*) refers in omen-texts normally to kings and their political standing (*cf.* also *passim* in the letters from Mari), to armies (note *KAR* 428: rev. 27 and 28), to a country (*CT XL* 38c: 25). Only in the series *šumma âlu* when ominous features of a house are discussed could the word refer to the building itself (*cf.* e.g. *CT XXXVIII* 11: 34). *KAR* 382: rev. 28–29 describes the status of a private person as in our passage. *Cf.* also Tablet II col. II: 10 (broken).

[107] Wording as well as spelling is strange in this passage.

[108] From here on *K.* 2239 provides us with the ends of eight lines.

[109] For *ṣétu* as a disease, *cf.* Landsberger, *JNES* 8: 252, n. 30.

[110] The Sumerogram INIM.É.GAL, literally "word of the palace," is rendered with *šillatu* "blasphemy" (series e r i m . ḫ u š I: 282) in the same semantic group as *tuššu* (occurring in the

After a dividing line a new topic is taken up with meteorological phenomena figuring predominantly in the text; first, however, comes a mysterious group:

If the "spirits" give water for/to his hands: one of his eyes will be destroyed.
If the "spirits" come down from heaven and give water for/to his hands: they will tear out his eyes, o[r al]so: he will receive the "water of his pupils"[111] for/on his hands. [5]
If the "spirits" come down from heaven and give water for/to the hands of the man: they will tear out[112] his eye, or also: calumniation will befall the man.

The protases as well as the apodoses of these three omina contain extremely difficult problems. What has been rendered here with cautious quotes as "spirits" (written ^{d}KAL) refers normally to personal protective deities and not to superhuman beings supposed to "give water" for or to the hands of a man. If one could interpret the second section of the apodosis in line 5 as an explanatory comment added by the compiler—*cf.* above for another instance of such an addition—one would still not gain much insight. The explanatory passage could be interpreted as "he will receive the water of his pupil (lit.: of the *lamassu*'s of his eyes) for/on his hands" and as constituting an attempt of the scribe to explain the water given by the ^{d}KAL-beings as "tears," i.e., as the "water of the pupils." This, however, seems very unusual if not unlikely. Perhaps one has to refer to a "story" of a ritual against the pains of childbirth which speaks of two ^{d}KAL descending from heaven with oil and water to assist the woman in labor (*KAR* 196 rev. right col. 25 f. = *Thompson AMT* 67, 1 iii). Equally difficult are the prognostications referring consistently to the destroying (*na'butu*, *nuppulu* and *nussuḫu*) of one or both eyes of the person who has these specific dreams.

The next omen repeats col. I line 69 but in a context which makes one inclined to admit the possibility that the "hearing of accusing rumors" refers here to some perhaps only mythical meteorological phenomenon:

[If] he hears repeatedly [in the sk]y rumors of acc[usations]: this man will have worries, his possessions will become important.

Then the text continues, with restorations furnished by *K.* 2239 up to line 19.

If it rains *ibb/ppunitum*[113] from the heaven upon the man: this man [will fall(?)] in the desert, [ ]s will fall upon h[im]. [10]
If the heaven blesses him: [ ].
If the heaven crushes [ ] . . . [ ].
If the heaven rains [ ].
If the heaven rains on the man [ ]. [15]
If the rain rains and the man [ ].
If it . . . in the heaven [ ].
If the Storm-god thunders [ ].
If the Storm-god [ ]s [ ].

There follows (*cf.* p. 328) another line beginning with ^{d}IM, i.e., Weather-god, and two more which probably contained the same name (DIŠ ^{d}[IM]), three lines with "in front of" and two with damaged signs.[114]

omen preceding this passage in the Dream-Book) and *bartu* "rebellion." *Cf.* also note 73 for synonymous terms.

[111] For this term *cf. KAR* 102: 12 (describing the god Ninurta) and *passim* in medical texts (*Thompson AMT* 18, 6: 7, 13, 2: 11, 8, 6: 4, 9, 1: 32).

[112] The scribe seems to have used slightly differing versions of omen-collections to compile the present text. *Cf.* also note 116.

[113] Unknown word.

[114] There exists a very small unpublished fragment, *K.* 2338, which contains on both sides omina beginning consistently with DIŠ MUL "If a star. . . ." Three of these omina seem to correspond to lines II: 81 and rev. I: 15 of our tablet (DUŠ MUL *ina* A SUR-*nun* [ ], DIŠ MUL *ana* UGU N[A], DIŠ MUL *ana* Ê [ ]). Still, the tablet cannot be assigned to the Dream-Book and related texts because the beginning of the "catch-line" (running: GAB.R[I], i.e. "cop[y of]") is preserved. Most likely *K.* 2338 belongs to the large astrological series *enûma Anu Enlil* which, in this specific passage, happens to contain omina that appear likewise in the Dream-Book. Such "parallels" between omen-collections sometimes occur when the topics discussed are identical, *cf.* e.g. the series *šumma izbu* and *šumma âlu*.

Here one has to refer to a group of omina dealing with stars said to have turned ("kenning": GUR) into all kinds of animals (from mythological animals and lions to fleas), also into precious stones, sacred cultic symbols, foodstuffs, bitumen, etc. On account of their highly fantastic content, these omina could well belong to the Dream-Book. This, however, is excluded at least for the fragment *K.* 4363 (published in II *R* 49 no. 4, previously by Sayce in *TSBA* **3**: 176 ff.) because all prognostications refer to events of a public nature. Clearly this fragment belongs to the astrological series where such prognostications are typical.

We have, however, two joining fragments, *K.* 3911 and 4546 (published by Virolleaud in *Babyloniaca* **3**: 275 and **4**: 123). They come from a one-column tablet and are written, according to Virolleaud, in Babylonian characters. The few preserved apodoses are topically related to those of the Dream-Book. Here a translation of the better preserved lines:

If a star [turns] into a *ne-x*[ ].
If a star [turns] into leather: [ ].
If a star turns into bitumen: in the house of the ma[n].
If a star turns into a plant: divine wrath against [the man].
If a star turns into a "dust-fly": [hi]s posse[sions will].
If a star turns into clay(?): he will experience business losses. //[ ].
If a star turns into faeces/flour: the owner of the house will become poor //[ ].
If a star turns into a locust: ev[il].
If a star turns into beans: [ ].
If a star turns into peas: [ ].
If a star turns into emmer-wheat: [ ].
If a star turns into "bitter barley": [ ].
If a star turns into *arsuppu*-spelt: [ ].
If a star turns into *a-bi-x*[ ].

Since none of the fragments containing parts of the dream-omina have turned up in the library of Assurbanipal in Babylonian

After a gap of twenty-one lines, the text continues with KI.MIN (i.e., *ditto*) entries dealing with an entirely different subject:

If he *ditto* (i.e., climbs in his dream) a date-palm and [ ]s the UD[115] of the palm: [ ].
If he *ditto* and [ ]s the "heart" (i.e., cone) of the palm: [ ].
If he *ditto* and cu[ts] the pannicles: [ ].
If he climbs down a date-palm: [ ].
If he touches a date-palm: los[ses].
If he cuts the twigs of a date-palm:[116] his misfortune [will] be removed [from him].
If he cuts the twigs of a date-palm: his misfortune [will] be removed [from him].
If he cuts down a date-palm: his misfortune [will] be removed [from him].
If a basal side-shoot[117] grows out of the date-palm: he will obtain his wish.
If a basal side-shoot does not grow out of the date-palm: he will stand up in court against his adversary.
If he climbs a date-palm and eats dates: he will worry, [ ] from the palace.
If the ŠI.KAK[118] of the date-palm is pointed(?): a destiny of life.[119]
If the ŠI.KAK of the date-palm . . . s him:[120] a destiny of life.

The arrangement of omina in the preceding section is somewhat confused: beside activities of the dreaming person there are descriptions of specific features of a date-palm seen, presumably, in a dream. The omina concerned with the second aspect occur in pairs (lines 58–59) and seem to interrupt the context. The subsequent section is obviously attracted by the "kenning" *ikkis* "he felled" and deals with dreams in which various kinds of trees were cut down by the dreamer:

If he cuts down a poplar: peace of mind.
If he cuts down a tamarisk: no peace of mind.
If he cuts down a fir: [peace of] mind.
If he cuts down a fig-tree: joy of heart [ ].
If he cuts down an apple-tree: [he will] the legal decision.
If he cuts down a vine: j[oy of] heart [ ].
If he cuts down a pomegranate-tree: [joy of] heart [ ].
If he cuts down a *šalluru*-tree: [joy of] h[eart].
If he cuts down a cedar: [ ].
If he cuts down a cypress: [ ].
If he cuts down a *šušû*(?)[121] tree: [ ].

The beginnings of the remaining omina of this column refer to woods to which the dreamer "went down" (*arādu*),[122] but the essential verbal forms are all lost.

The fourth column (i.e., the second of the reverse) is the best preserved. The *našî*-section (i.e., the omina with *našî* "he carries") is very short while the three-column version of our tablet (*cf.* below p. 288) dedicates many more omina to this topic.

If he carries a seal-cylinder: he will be seized in prison.
If he carries a wagon: he will obtain his heart's desire.
If he carries a *sabarru*-wagon:[123] he will obtain his heart's desire.
If he carries a basket of the god: he will be relieved of the (evil) spell.
If he sits upon a date-palm and carries (the image of) a god:[124] he will experience . . .[125] of the heart.
If he carries a date-palm like (one carries) a god: . . . .[126]

writing (*cf.* for the problem involved above p. 296) and on one-column tablets, one cannot admit the present fragment *K.* 3911. Still, the right column of the obverse of our Tablet C could possibly have contained such omina.

[115] Although the series ḪAR. r a = *ḫubullu* (Tablet III) contains a well preserved and most extensive list of the parts of the date-palm, the [U]D mentioned here does not seem to appear there.

[116] There are two apparently identical omina in this place with the verb *ur-ri*; the first, however, adds a senseless "*di*" after the "*ri*." The compiling scribe apparently took the corrupt passage from one copy and the correct passage from another without daring to improve the text.

[117] The GIŠ.ZI.NA (Akkadian *zinû*, *cf.* *Ḫ.-ḫ.* III: 359) of the date-palm is used in the Old Babylonian period as material to make cheap doors. The proposed translation is suggested by this fact.

[118] The context of this and the next omen corroborates the interpretation of GIŠ.ŠI.KAK of the date-palm (Akkadian: *sillû* *cf.* *Ḫ.-ḫ.* III: 358) as "thorn" (i.e., thorny part at the base of the cluster) which the Sumerian term (*cf.* URUDU.ŠI.KAK, reading š u k u r, equated with *šukurru* "small lance" in the series d i r i VI E 65 ff.) as well as the Akkadian rendering (*sillû* "needle") suggests.

[119] This apodosis is unique in omen-literature.

[120] Since *is*-NIN-*šú* makes no sense, one is inclined to propose an emendation: *ḫul* instead of NIN. The text would then run: *is-ḫul*(!)-*šú* "pierces him" which fits the context well enough. For another scribal mistake in this text, *cf.* note 121.

[121] Since no tree written GIŠ.SUR.ŠE is known one should perhaps assume again a mistake for GIŠ.ZA+SUḪ, i.e., the *šušû*-tree (d i m m e r - d i n g i r - *ilu* III: 21) translated by *Zimmern Fremdwörter* 58, for etymological reasons as *Süssholz*.

[122] The idiomatic use of *arādu* in connection with *kištu* reminds one, of course, of the Gilgamesh-passage *Thompson Epic*, pl. 41 III: 45.

[123] This means of transportation occurs in *Ḫ.-ḫ.* V: 59 (Akkadian: *sabarru*, *cf.* also for some references *Salonen Landfahrzeuge* 61 f.), in the Middle Assyrian text *KAJ* 310: 58, in the Middle Babylonian *TCL IX* 50: 17.

[124] The phrase DINGIR *našî* "he carries a god" seems to appear in this and the next omen by "attraction," i.e., as a result of the fact that the preceding line places the signs DINGIR and *našî* accidentally side by side (DIŠ MA.SÁ.AB DINGIR *na-ši* "if he carries a sacred *masabbu*-basket"). Still, the "carrying of an image" appears also as an ominous event in the (unpublished) text *Sm* 332 belonging to the series *šumma âlu* which we read (line x + 12) "If a man, while walking in the street sees somebody who carries an image: [ ]" (*šá* DINGIR *na-šú-u* IGI).

[125] Unique apodosis which cannot be explained.

[126] Literally "he will be riding an irrigation-bucket." Meaning?

If he carries a(n evil) spell: upsurge of . . .[127]
If he carries *sarirû*:[128] he carries a(n evil) spell.[129]
If he throws repeatedly the *kippu*-rope[130] of the *kisallîtu*-(woman): conducting of a law-suit.

If he plays with . . .:[131] conducting of a law-suit. [10]
If he plays with a bow: conducting of a law-suit.
If he nocks (lit.: fills) the bow: conducting of a law-suit.
If he repeatedly takes aim[132] with a bow: he will conquer by his own strength.
If he carries a bow and shoots repeatedly: he will have losses by his own fault.[133]
If he carries a bow and breaks his bow: he will not obtain his heart's desire. [15]
If he balances (before throwing) a throwing-stick: he will conquer by his own strength.
If he balances a lariat(?):[134] he will conquer by his own strength.
If he carries an arrow: this man will walk safely through the street of his town.
If he is hit by a "reed": he will receive. . . .[135]

This section contains not only a number of obscure words but also some extremely unusual apodoses. One should note furthermore that the compiling editor is easily induced by associations to stray from his topic, to insert "doublettes," etc. *Cf.* the groups, lines 4–6, 11–14, 16 and 17.

[127] The term *tubbāti* recurs in a group of liver-omina with similar apodoses: *K.* 7000: 3 (*Boissier DA* 6 f. = *Boissier Choix de textes* 179 ff.) "they will ask you repeatedly for your border-town *ina tu-ub-ba-a-ti*" which is continued in the next omen (line 4) "and you will not hand (it) over and all of it will be seized and the house destroyed," *K.* 59+ rev. 5 "the king *ina tu-ub-ba-*[*a-ti*]" (*Boissier DA* 229 = *Boissier Choix de textes* 220 ff.). The *šumma-izbu* series has in *CT XXVII* 46: rev. 22 "whatever the enemy asks of you give him *ina tub-ba-ti-ka*." Since the last passage can also be read *ina ṭub-ba-ti-ka* "in (your) friendliness, good grace," one feels inclined to assume this meaning in the quoted omen-passages as well as in our Dream-Book. Note furthermore the spelling ZI.GA *ṭu-ba-te* in the Assur hemerology *KAR* 178 III: 42 (and parallels). The spelling with *tu* (i.e., *ṭù*) instead of *ṭu* could be caused by the Old Babylonian originals (*cf.* for the term in Old Babylonian legal texts *Meissner BAP* 107: 14, *CT IV* 11a: 14, Sollberger in *JCS* 5: 78 MAH 15916: 16). The exact implications of ZI *tu-ba-a-ti* in our Dream-Book remain, however, obscure.

[128] Meaning unknown.

[129] Unique and obscure apodosis. Text probably in disorder.

[130] The *kippu* is known as an essential part of the paraphernalia of the goddess, Ishtar. She is referred to in the epic "Ishtar's Descent" (*CT XV* 45: 27) as the one "who holds the great *kippus*" and the Middle Assyrian heroic poem (*Archaeologia* 79: xlix ii: 32) describes the activity of the goddess in battle with the words "Ishtar smites (*maḫāṣu*) her *kippus*, driving her warriors to madness." The late Uruk text published by Langdon in *RA* 12: 74–75 uses not only *kippu* but also *kisallu* (*cf. kisallîtu* in our omen-passage) in descriptions of Ishtar going to battle (lines 7/8 and 9/10): "go to battle like (to) a *mêlultu-passil* . . . be in a frenzy(?) like (for) a *kisalla mêlili!*" The former term is mentioned in the vocabulary a n . t a . g á l F l. 245 in the equation GIŠ.BI.ZA ŠU.TAG.GA = MIN (i.e., *me-lu-lu*) *šá pa-*[*as-si*] (in the Uruk-text BI.ZA ŠU.TAG.GA.GIM), the latter (i.e., *kisalla mêlili*) corresponds in the Uruk-text to ZI.IN.GI RA.RA.DA.GIM which recurs in the next line of the quoted vocabulary: ZI.IN.GI.GÌR.RA.RA = MIN (i.e., *mêlulu*) *šá ta-x-*[*y*]. Since ZI.IN.GI (Akk. *kisallu*) denotes the sole, the term ZI.IN.GI.GÌR.RA.RA may well describe a special type of dance characterized by stamping motions of the feet. Hence, the "hitting (ŠU.TAG.GA) of the wooden BI.ZA (Akk. *pissu*)" —unknown elsewhere—as well as the term *kippu* could likewise refer to specific dances performed (with certain accessories) by the goddess, Ishtar, when leading the warriors into battle. The vocabularies (*nabnîtu* Tablet XXII 133, also a n . t a . g á l F l. 244, J II: 2) equate Sumerian ÉŠ.ḪÚL "rope of joy" with *kippu* and thus indicate that the use of a rope characterized the dance of Ishtar. The goddess may have used the *kippu*-rope to wave or to whirl (like a "bull-roarer"?) around in rhythmic swings. The word *kisallu* (*kislum*, *kisillu*) denotes in this context not a part of the foot but a type of dance characterized by specific movements of this part of the body, e.g. skipping, and *kisallîtu* may well be considered the designation of a priestess trained to perform such a dance. All this, however, is rather conjectural and should be taken only as a working hypothesis till more and clearer evidence is forthcoming.

Cf. the phrase *mâmît kippē u kisalli* "entanglement (caused) by the *kippu* and the *kisallu*" occurring e.g. in *Zimmern Beiträge*, *Šurpu* III: 105 and in the Shamash hymn published (with parallels) by Mullo Weir in *JRAS* 1936: 586 ff. l. 17. Obscure as these passages are, they show the sacral character of the dances they refer to.

[131] Not understandable.

[132] This meaning of *dagālu* is clearly demanded by the context of the three omina in the lines 11–14 describing the shooting of an arrow: *qašta mullû* "to load the bow" (technically: "to nock the arrow"), *dagālu* "to take aim" (*cf. diglu* "aim") and *nasāku* "to shoot" (*cf. CT XXII* 9: 2, and *CT XIII* 33 ff. rev. 4, 7). The drawing of the bow (termed *qašta talālu*, *cf.* Erica Reiner in *RA* 48: 148 n. 2) and the releasing of the string after shooting (*qašta šupšuḫu*, *cf. VAB VII* 260: 17) are not mentioned.

[133] This translation intends to render the obvious contrast KUR-*ti* ŠU, i.e., *kišitti qâtē* "personal conquest" and ZI.GA ŠU in the lines 13, 16, 17.

[134] The present passage indicates that *ašqulalu* denotes a weapon, in fact, a missile of some kind. Other occurrences of this word are listed by *Labat TDP* 12, n. 20, and Nougayrol, *RA* 44: 11 (add there *CT XXXVIII* 7: 2, 3 [*šumma âlu*, Tablet II] in fragmentary context).

We have the following indications as to the meaning of this difficult and rare word. The Old Babylonian liver-omen *YOS X* 22: 21 has *aš-qú-la-al ša-me-e-im*, i.e., "*a.* of the sky," the series *šumma âlu* (*CT XXXIX* 32: 24) speaks of an *ašqulalu* "suspended/balancing from the sky in the middle of the sky" and an unpublished fragment of the same series, *K.* 8786, speaking of objects or phenomena falling or hanging down from the sky, mentions a AN.KI.NU.TE seen by a person. Since *ašqulalu* with the Sumerian correspondence LAL denotes a plant (*cf.* simply *Thompson DAB* 239, for references) and the text *K.* 132 (publ. IV *R* 55 no. 1) mentions in line 30 a plant called AN.KI.NU.TI, one is entitled to see in AN.KI.NU.TE a Sumerogram for *ašqulalu*. This is in keeping with the actual meaning of this Sumerogram "touching neither the heaven nor the earth" which fits as a designation of some climbing or, better, epiphytic plant. The characteristic "suspended" position of the *ašqulalu* may indicate that the "*ašqulalu* of the sky" referring according to the other references in Old Babylonian omina (*cf.* simply Nougayrol, *loc. cit.*) to some calamity, is the designation of a whirling wind (American English: tornado) with its characteristic suspended funnel. Consequently we propose to see in the weapon *ašqulalu* of our dream-omen passage some kind of suspended whirling lariat (attested in Egypt) or even a bola-like missile.

[135] Obscure.

The eight following omina form a distinct group by their content and are as such set apart by dividing lines. They all refer to dreams of flying and are paralelled in the lines of the Susa excerpt (*cf.* above pp. 257 f.). Again the wording is somewhat atypical, an observation which we have made repeatedly in the discussion of the omina of the present tablet.

If he has wings and flies to and fro: his foundation is not solid, for an important (person): his bad (luck) [ ], his good (luck) will leave him, for a commoner: he is striving for his (own) misfortune, his rival(!) will despise him.[136]
If he has wings and flies to and fro and alights[137] but is not able to take off (again): his foundation is not solid, in the positive case[138] his foundation is solid.
If he takes off and flies (once): for an important (person): his good (luck), for a commoner: his bad (luck) will leave him; [if] he is thrown in jail:[139] he will leave the jail, he will become free (lit.: will see the light), if he is sick: he will become well (again).
If he flies to and fro: his riches will leave the rich, his bad (luck) the commoner.
[If he flies but] does not reach [the . . .] of heaven and earth: the gods will persecute him with losses, his rival will despise him.
If he flies [to and fro and] disappears but reappears: sorrow.
If he flies to and fro and disappears but does not reappear: he will remember. . . .[140]
If he flies to and fro and his [h]ands are . . .:[141] his foundation is not solid.

After a dividing-line, the text turns to dreams connected with rivers. This topic—also touched on in the Susa tablet (*cf.* pp. 257 f.)—takes up the balance of the column up to the final line of which the very end is still visible, after line 78.

If he falls into a river and [and] the river enters his mouth: he will become important, . . .
If he sinks into a river and emerges (again): this man [will have] riches.
If he [sin]ks into a river in his clothes: the foundation of this man [is solid].
[If] he falls [into] a river and [drifts/swims] upstream: he will ask (something) from a person (who is) not friendly to him and he will give (it) to him; in the pal[ace].
[If] he falls [into] a river and [drifts/swims] downstream:[142] he will ask (something) from a person friendly to him and he will give (it) <not> [to him;].
[If] he . . .[143] to a river, sinks and comes up (again): prison [ ].
If he . . .[143] to a river and . . . s and [ ].
If he walks constantly in "light waters":[144] [ ].
If he walks constantly in "dark waters":[144] a diff[icult] law-suit [ ], they will sum[mon him] to testify.[145]
If he washes (himself) in a river: losses [ ].
If he sinks into a river and comes up (again):[146] he will have w[orries].
If he crosses a river: he will experience confusion.
If he goes down to the river and comes up (again): he will stand up (in court) against his adversary.
If he comes up from the river: good news.
If he washes (himself) in the river and (then) comes up: he will experience losses (in business).
If he dams up the river: he will see hard times.
If he dams up the river and deviates (it):[147] this house [ ].
If he seizes a turtle in the river: in sorrow [ ].
If he seizes a snake in the river: [he will have] riches.
If he seizes a fish in the river: he will obtain his heart's desire.
If he brings up clay from the river: he will build a house.[148]
If he eats in a river the . . .[149] of reed: they will burn him.
If he eats in a river the . . .[149] of rushes: they will burn him.

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[136] For the idiom *šeṭût* PN *leqû*, *cf.* mainly the historical inscriptions of Sargon II and the proverbs (*K.* 8282 [*PSBA* 1916 pl. VII] line 13, *BM* 33851 [*King Creation* **2**: 64 ff., II: 8]); it is not attested in omen texts.

[137] According to the Susa tablet (*cf.* above p. 258) one should read here ina KI.<GUB>GUB-ma.

[138] Unique nuance of *annû*.

[139] While prognostications sometimes differentiate between their bearing upon the socio-economic status (poor *versus* rich) or the state of health of the person to whom the omen is given, we have here a unique reference to a prisoner.

[140] The text is difficult because *ḫasāsu* is never constructed with *ana*.

[141] The signs have to be read *i-ṣa-lap* from the verb *ṣalāpu*, sometimes used in liver-omina to describe a specific malformation of a part of the liver (*ša-pa-as-sà ṣa-al-pa-at YOS X* 36 I: 15, 19, GÌR *ṣal-pat CT XXXI* 11 I: 8 and *KAR* 454: 28). Perhaps "askew."

[142] The text contrasts *ana maḫirte* with *ana DA qiddāti*. *Cf. KAR* 25 III: 7 "like the *qiddāte* water will not turn to flow *ana maḫirtim*" (also Driver *ZA* **40**: 232 n. 1).

[143] Pret. *i-bé-er* of a verb *bêru*.

[144] These two omina occur already in the Susa tablet (*cf.* above p. 258) with apodoses referring respectively to easy and difficult lawsuits or diseases. Instead of the "heavy" water of the Susa version, our tablet has somewhat illogically "dark" water contrasted with "light."

[145] Apart from legal texts (especially the Assyrian Laws), this *hendyadis* occurs also in *Zimmern Beiträge Šurpu* II: 60 (*ú-kan-nu ú-bar-ru*) and should be rendered by "to testify (against a person) and to prove (his guilt)."

[146] This protasis repeats exactly that of line 44 (replacing E_{11} with *e-la-a*).

[147] For this meaning of *batāqu*, *cf.* my remarks in *JNES* **13**: 146 f.

[148] The association between the wet clay brought from the river and the building of a house (of stamped earth) is rather obvious.

[149] Does *ud-di* refer to the tender tops?

If he dips into a river: his sorrows will not reach him.
If he dips repeatedly into a river a[nd] reaches (eventually) [f]irm ground: calumniation.
If he falls into a river [and]: sickness will seize him.
If he [ ] in a river [ ]: he will have worries.
[If he cr]osses [a ri]ver till [ ]: in whatever he plans he will not succeed.
[If he t]ouches [ ]: he will have a (famous) name. [60]
[If he d]ams up [ ]: his possessions he will carry off.
[If he ur]inates [into]: peace of mind, he will have luck (lit.: a god).
[If he se]es [ ]: he will die through his sin.[150]
[If] he goes down [to the river and sees]: good news.
[If he goes down and a] approaches and attacks him: in whatever he plans he will not succeed.
[If he goes down to the river and] sees a snake: he will have an outstanding son. [65]
[If] he goes down [to]: he will have barley.
[If he se]es [ ]: this man will die.
[If he and] sinks down in [ ]: this man will die.

The balance of the column—nine lines—shows only apodoses which are quite typical and need not be translated. It is rather likely that the protases continued to deal with rivers, canals, etc.

With regard to Tablet C we are faced with a problem which parallels to a certain degree that encountered in the presentation of Tablet B. Here as well as there we have fragments at our disposal which show the same "kenning" as the (main) tablet. However, while on Tablet B the KÚ-omina take up a large number of lines, and the fragments show only a few omina with KÚ as the characteristic verb, the situation is reversed with regard to Tablet C. Here the fragments have preserved many more omina with *našî* than the pertinent section on the main tablet, i.e., Tablet C.

In fact there exist, apart from the small fragment *K.* 2239 which comes from another copy of the main tablet (*K.* 25+) and has been utilized to fill certain gaps of the latter (*cf.* above), three rather large fragments with entries showing the verb *našî* "he carries" which is discussed on *K.* 25+ only in the first eight lines of the last column. There is first a three-column fragment *K.* 7248 + 8339 + 11781, then *K.* 9038 on which can be seen only two columns so that it cannot be decided from what size tablet it comes. Finally, we have in *K.* 12641 the upper (and lower) edge of a three-column tablet of which only a few lines of the first and second, and the end of the fifth and of the sixth column are extant. It is possible—but cannot be proved—that *K.* 12641 and *K.* 7248 come from the same copy, but *K.* 7248 and *K.* 9028 are to be kept apart on account of the different sizes of their signs. Thus we are compelled to assume that maximally four or minimally three tablets of dream-omina existed in the library of Assurbanipal, all containing larger or smaller sections with the "kenning" *našî* "he carries." This however is difficult to explain. Perhaps one is entitled to propose that such *našî* sections come from different tablets of the series (as was proposed above p. 275 for the KÚ-omina) and that what we termed "main tablet" (Tablet C) contains only accidentally a small group of *našî*-omina, while the three-column tablet which gave us the fragments *K.* 7248 and *K.* 12641 was in reality the "main" *našî* tablet, dealing primarily with this topic. This would explain the specific nature and sequence of the *našî*-omina on *K.* 9038 (*cf.* presently). Still, this is all rather conjectural (*cf.* the arguments advanced below on p. 290), mainly because the lack of extant fragments makes it impossible to prove any of these suggestions or even to use them as working hypotheses.

We begin here with the most extensive of these *našî*-fragments, *K.* 7248+, and with its best-preserved section, the central column:

If he carries [ ]: [his] sin will [be removed(?)]; the god [will be filled with] wrath against him.
If he carries a grown-up (person): full (measure) of wra[th,].
If he carries a child: full (measure) of wra[th,].
If he carries the crescent (symbol): full (measure) of wra[th]. [x + 5]
If he carries the sun-disk (symbol): full (measure) of wra[th].
If he carries the (divine) scepter:[151] [he will experience] los[ses].
If he carries a stone: . . . [ ].
If he carries a dagger: [ ].
If he carries a dagger and [draws(?)] the dagger: [ ]. [x + 10]
If [he carries] a dagger around his neck: [ ]. . . .[152]
[If] he carries [ ] on his head: he will have. . . .[153]
If he carries dates on his head: sorrow.

[150] For a similar apodosis, *cf. CT XXXVIII* 41: 17 (*šumma âlu*) UG_6 *ár-ni* UG_6 "he will die a death (caused by) *arnu*," and for *annu* = *arnu* the commentary passage (*šumma âlu*) *CT XLI* 26: rev. 19.

[151] This translation assumes the reading GIŠ.PA DINGIR.

[152] The apodoses seem to be the same as that of line x + 16 where we have URU *ú-sa-ḫar* for which the series *ana ittišu* Tablet VII ii: 32 offers a parallel as well as an explanation. The criminal is to be led around the city as a defaming punishment to which the series *ana ittišu* adds the shearing off of half his hair (*cf.* Landsberger, *AfO* 10: 147 n. 39).

[153] The text seems to have ZI.KA(?).KA as object to *rašû*. Meaning and reading unknown.

If he carries . . .[154] on his head: he will have riches.
If he carries a mountain on his head: he will have no rival. [x + 15]
If he carries salt on his head: the builder(?) of his house he will lead (in shame) around the town.[155]
If <he carries> salt(petre) from the foundation-walls of his house: . . . ,[156] he will be buried in the town.
If he carries salt: his teeth will hurt him.[157]
[If] he carries meat [in] the street: his health will not be good.
[If] he carries barley [in] the street: he will stand up (in court) against his adversary. [x + 20]
[If] he carries beer [in the street]: peace of mind.
[If] he carries beer-wort[158] [in the street]: to grieve is in store for him.
[If] he carries water [in the street]: his misfortune will depart.
[If] he carries [a ta]ble [in the street]: he will die through the wrath (caused by) his (own) words.[159]

Here the breaks in the tablet have left us only seven rather typical[160] apodoses (*cf.* p. 331), but the traces and the distribution of the signs show that the text continued to deal with dreams in which a person was walking down a street carrying sundry objects.

While the left column of this text (*K.* 7248) is nearly a total loss, the right column—beginning on *K.* 11781 and continued on *K.* 7248—shows the protases of a series of omina concerned apparently with dream-theophanies.

There are, however, three badly broken lines which deal with an entirely different topic before the section on apparitions. They begin with "[If](in a dream) his teeth," but only the last omen contains a verbal form, to wit "have been remo[ved]"; all apodoses are lost. Here we seem to have what is left of a group of omina bearing upon dreams concerned with the body (feature and function) of the person who experiences them. Such omina are listed in the tablet from Susa (*cf.* above pp. 257 f.) and refer there to the feet, mouth and eyes (col. I), the hands, the head (col. II), the belly and intestines, penis (col. III) of the dreamer. Owing to a fortunate accident, we learn from the present fragment that the Dream-Book did contain omina of this type, and it is especially interesting that the loss of teeth—a well-known dream-content of consistently sinister prognostication—is actually preserved in our series.

Gods appearing in dreams are enumerated in the following omina:

If the god stands before the man and [ ].
If the god remains without moving upon his pedestal: [ ]. [x + 5]
If the god changes (his attitude) upon his pedestal: [ ].
If the god walks towards the man: [ ].
If the god jumps towards the man: x [ ].
If the god sings in front of the man: [ ].
If the god cries in front of the man: [ ]. [x + 10]
If the god complains in front of the man: [ ].
If the god does . . .[161] before the man: [ ].
If the god sits upon a AŠ.TE-throne before the man [ ] the seat . . . [ ].
If the god utters a bene[diction] before the man [ ]: he will exp[erience] the wrath of the god. [x + 15]
If the god utters a curse against the man: [his] pr[ayers will be accepted] . . . [ ].[162]

The balance of the preserved few lines all begin with the words, "If the god," but not much more is legible (*cf.* p. 332). The appearance, however, of omina dealing with theophanies in this context is rather important, because it indicates that the present fragment covers the same subject matter as the well-preserved two-column tablet which we call Tablet C. On the latter too we find on one and the same tablet *našî*-omina (beginning of col. III) and dream-journeys to heaven (col. I). This may, of course, be purely accidental and could be disregarded if it were not for the fragment *K.* 12641 which shows in its few and broken lines a similar coincidence of *našî*-omina and omina dealing in some way with divine apparitions.

On one face of this small fragment (*K.* 12641) of the upper (or lower) rim of a three-column tablet we have the last three lines of two columns (col. I and II, or V and VI). The left column shows only apodoses, with the exception of the first line, in which we read: "sits [upon] a bed." One is tempted to restore according to the right column of *K.* 7248 (*cf.* above p. 288), "If the god sits upon a bed before the man." The prognostic begins (on *K.* 12641) with the signs ŠU TI (meaning unknown) at the end of the line and must be assumed to continue in the two following lines on account of the liberal spacing of the signs. What is preserved reads: "he will stand in his triumph

[154] The signs ḪA.ŠUM (*cf. Deimel ŠL* 589/59) cannot be interpreted.

[155] *Cf.* above note 152.

[156] Obscure context.

[157] The proposed translation (lit.: "his teeth will suck him") is suggested by the well-known passage *CT XVII* 50: 17 speaking of the "worm" supposed to cause toothache by sucking the blood of the teeth (*ša ši-in-ni-ma lu-un-zu-qa da-mi-šu*).

[158] For ŠIM in this meaning, *cf. Oppenheim-Hartmann Beer* 10.

[159] Unique apodosis.

[160] Note i_{11}-*šár-ru*$_4$ which occurs in this highly artificial spelling (*cf. Kraus Physiognomatik* 32) only here in the Dream-Book. The emendation of *i*-KAL-*úr* into *i-dan-nin*(!) is supported by such Old Babylonian apodoses as *a-we-lum i-da-an-ni-in* (*PBS I/2* 99 ii: 4) LÚ-*lum i-da-ni-in* (*YOS X* 47: 83). The Neo-Assyrian omina say *danānu* (of persons) only of the king (*cf.* LUGAL . . . *i-kab-bit-ma i-dan-nin-ma Virolleaud ACh*, Ishtar I: 11), but note "the wife of this man will be more powerful than he" (UGU-*šú i-dan-nin*) in *TCL VI* 14: rev. 11.

[161] The known nuances of the verb *zanāḫu* (*cf.* simply Kraus, *AfO* 11: 230) do not fit this context.

[162] The signs are clear but they make no sense.

[above the man]"[163] and, in the last line, *i-za/ṣa-mur/ḫir-šú*, which remains obscure.

The right column has three broken protases:

If he car[ries] a spindle [and].
If he carries a spindle and does [ ].
If he ties a string [ ].

Since these entries seem to terminate the *naši*-section, one may argue that it was preceded by theophany-omina and that consequently the three columns of *K.* 7248 represent the reverse of another tablet duplicating that of which the fragment *K.* 12641 is all that is left. In both instances the *naši*-section follows the theophany-section.

On the other face of *K.* 12641 (*cf.* p. 332) we have in the better preserved left column the following rather interesting omina:

[If the . . . -gods] draw near (or: attack)[164] the god of his city: [of (not) ha]ving slaves and slave-girls.
[If the god] of his city speaks with him: [ ] for/to the man.
[If the god] of his city like the (personal) god of the man [ ].

The nature of these dreams suggests that their scene was in heaven and this again suggests that these omina belong to the first section of the main tablet (Tablet C, *cf.* above p. 288) dealing with dream-journeys to this realm. Consequently we have to assume that the left column of this face of our fragment *K.* 12641 is the first column of the original tablet and not the last, as our considerations concerning the sequence of *naši*-items and dream-theophanies seemed to indicate. This again has to be interpreted as speaking against the assumption that the three-column tablet which has yielded *K.* 12641 and that of which we have extant *K.* 7248 are identical. We are therefore forced to posit the existence of four tablets with *naši*-entries: *K.* 25+ (here Tablet C), *K.* 7248+, *K.* 12641 and *K.* 9038. The latter might possibly belong to *K.* 12641.

We still have to translate the rather well-preserved right column of *K.* 9038 where two types of *naši*-entries occur, one using the syllabic spelling *na-ši*, the other—separated by a dividing-line—the logogram ÍL (in the same meaning):

If [he carries] a re[ed]: [ ].
If [he carries] clay: [ ].
If [he carries] a brick: [ ].
If he c[arries] bitumen: [ ]. [x + 5]

If he carr[ies] the *exta*[165] of a sheep [ ].
If he carries his own *exta* and [ ].
If he carries his own *exta* and does [ ].

If he carries an axe and . . . [ ].
If he carries an axe and goes out in the street: [ ]. [x + 10]
If he *ditto* and tears down a house: [ ].
If he *ditto* and tears down the . . .[166] of a house: intercession[167] [will be made(?)] for him.
If he *ditto* and tears down a door: making [of intercession(?)].
If he *ditto* and tears down a temple: making [of intercession(?)].
If he *ditto* and tears down a shrine: making of [intercession(?)]. [x + 15]
If he *ditto* and demolishes anything: someone stronger than [he].
If he *ditto* and ascends to tear down a (city) wall: this man, a strong one [ ].
If he *ditto* and cuts (a breach into) a (city) wall: the going-out [ ].
If he *ditto* and goes into the desert: [ ].

The remaining fragments of omen-texts belonging to our Dream-Book are discussed in the following pages in two groups, each of them formed by the usage of a specific "kenning."

There are first three small fragments: *K.* 6705, *K.* 6768, and *K.* 6824 where each omen contains the key-word UM. The first and second of these fragments seem to belong to two slightly different copies of the same tablet. The main problem concerning this group is the reading and the meaning of the logogram UM which cannot be established even approximately. The following translations will illustrate this difficulty. We begin with *K.* 6768, because the UM section actually begins on this fragment after what is preserved of the section with the "kenning" U_5, i.e., "rides":

[If a man] rides [upon a]: this man . . . [ ].
[If a man] rides upon an unknown [(animal?)]: [he will have] riches.

If a man in his dream does UM to the goddess Ishtar: [ ].
If he does UM to a god: madness [will seize him(?)].
If he does UM to the king: the hand of the king will catch [him]. [x + 5]
If he does UM to an important person: the important person will [ ].

[163] For actual occurrences of the phrase, *cf. KAR* 153 r. 20 $EREN_2$ MAN *ina li-ti-šu* GUB-*az*, and line 19: KÚR *ina* [*li-ti*]-*šú* GUB-*az*. *Cf.* also above note 21.

[164] Sumerogram: KU.NU = *sanāqu ša nakri*, *cf.* simply *Deimel ŠL* 536/123a.

[165] While this line writes in Akkadian *tir-ti*, the next two use the Sumerogram ḪAR.BAD (read u r $_5$. ú š) with the same meaning.

[166] Meaning unknown; scribal mistake?

[167] Restored according to the idiomatic phrase *abbût* PN *ṣabātu* which, however, is not attested in the omen texts. For two obscure but probably related references, *cf. ab-bu-ti* GIR TI [ ] in *Kraus Physiognomatik* no. 36 v: 11′, and *KAR* 212 i: 11 *a-ab-bu-tú* ŠEŠ.MEŠ *la šu-a-tú i*-GIR.

If he does UM to a NIN.DINGIR-priestess: . . . [ ].
If he does UM to the "daughter of his god":[168] [ ].
If he does UM to the wife of the king: the country in [ ].
If he does UM to the daughter of the king: wellbeing for [one] year. [x + 10]
If he does UM to the wife of a(nother) man: the country in [ ].

This fragment comes from the bottom of a three-column tablet (as indicated by the curvature of the edge) and shows, to the left of the UM-column, the remnants of seven apodoses.[169]

On *K.* 6824 we have another group of UM omina; this fragment seems to show traces of a broken-off column to its left and could possibly represent part of of the lost third column of *K.* 6768:

[If he does UM to] the son of another person: [ ].
[If] he does UM [to a v]irgin: [ ].
[If] he does UM [to] an old woman: . . . [ ].
[If] he does UM to a young man: he will worry (*Glossenkeil*): [ ].
[If] he does UM to a child: well-being [for one] year [ ], for the poo[r man]: a strong prison [will seize him[170]]. [x + 15]
If his wife does UM to him: his wife will [ ].
If his sister does UM to him: curse [ ].
If he does UM to the father(?) of his wife: [ ].

We have finally, on *K.* 6705, the right upper corner of the reverse of a tablet with the end of the UM section written here on the last column. The text mentions the same entries as *K.* 6758, replacing the first omen of the latter (UM to the goddess, Ishtar) with two new lines, but we have to assume that some other UM-entries had been written at the bottom of the preceding column. Thus there were at least two but possibly even three tablets in the Dream-Book containing UM omina.

Here is *K.* 6705:

If he does UM to . . .:[171] wra[th of].

[168] The context suggests that this designation refers to a priestess following in rank the NIN.DINGIR. *Cf.* for this passage and its parallel in the Epic of Gilgamesh (*Thompson Epic*, Tabl. III iv: 22–23), Landsberger *ZA* **30**: 71. *Cf.* now also the newly restored passage *Šurpu* VIII: 69 mentioning the *mârat ili* beside the NIN.DINGIR priestess. *Cf.* R. Harris *JCS*, 9: 65.

[169] Among them only *i-ḫad-du* (x + 5) seems to be remarkable; *cf. i-ḫad-du* as apodosis in *CT XXXVIII* 43: 69 (*šumma âlu*) or LÚ *i-ḫad-du-ma* Á.TUK IGI-*mar* "the person will be happy and see riches" in the liver omen *KAR* 428: 54 (*YOS X* 33 v: 17), also *Kraus Physiognomatik*, index p. 22. In line x + 4 we have *ana* IGI-*šú* GIN "will prosper" while two lines later we read *ana* IGI-*šú* ḪÚL.

[170] *Cf.* the parallel passage *CT XL* 35: 4 *me-si-ru dan-nu* DAB-*su-ma ina* GIG [ ].

[171] The clearly written signs A.DAM.SA.ḪI.A remain unexplainable.

If he does UM to a corpse: [ ].
If he does UM to a god: AN.[ ].[172]
If he does UM to a king: [ ].
If he does UM to an important person: [ ]. [5]
If [he does UM] to a NIN.DINGIR-priestess: [ ].
If [he does UM] to the "daughter of [his] g[od]": [ ].
If [he does UM] to the daughter [of the king:].
[If he does UM] to the wi[fe of . . .:].

With the exception of the first entry of *K.* 6705, which we cannot understand (*cf.* note 171), the object of the activity called UM and performed in a dream is always a human being, the gods (Ishtar and *ilu* referring to female and male deities) and a corpse being excepted. In a great majority of instances the UM is done to females, old and young, priestesses and princesses, to the queen or to the wife of another man. But males are not omitted altogether. Whenever the dreamer is subjected to UM, a woman (his wife or sister) performs it. Since the context requires a meaning referring to some aspect of human behavior, none of the Akkadian equivalences for the logogram UM appearing in the vocabularies can be accepted. The indications concerning the usage of UM in these omina are, however, insufficient to determine to what aspect of behavior this verb belongs.

The second group (*cf.* above p. 290) of fragments consists mainly of one large fragment joined together out of three smaller pieces: *K.* 9945 + *K.* 10456 + *K.* 12590. We thus gain about half a column of a tablet containing dream-omina taken from everyday activities; all apodoses are, however, destroyed. Traces of a column to the left are preserved on one of the fragments.

The omina are topically arranged, the sequence of the subject matter being: garments, the grinding of various cereals, the making of flour and—domestic quarrels. The section on garments is rather short but we have two more fragments dealing with the same topic (*cf.* below) which seem to have taken up considerable space in the present tablet. It is quite possible that our fragment (*K.* 9945+) belongs to Tablet III (*cf.* above p. 262) where similar topics seem to be discussed.

If he w[eaves] a bel[t:].
If he wea[ves] a rope: [ ].
If he weaves a *naḫlaptu*-coat: [ ].
If he weaves[173] a belt: [ ].

[172] If we assume that this line corresponds to line x + 4 of *K.* 6768 (*cf.* above p. 290) one may suggest that the break after AN robs us of a term corresponding to *maḫḫûtu* "madness" of the latter fragment. Hence, the restoration AN.[DIB.BA. RA] may be suggested.

[173] The repetition in lines x + 1 and x + 4 is only admissible if one assumes that the activities performed on this object differed. Since the first omen has P[A] and the second PA-*aṣ*, one is inclined to restore the former to P[A-*iṣ*]; *cf.* next note.

If he manufactures[174] a *kubšu*-headgear: [ ].
If he manufactures a *parsigu*-headgear: [ ]. [x + 5]

If he gr[inds] barley: [ ].
If he gr[inds] *šigušu*-grain:[175] [ ].
If he g[rinds] *enninu*-grain:[176] [ ].
If he gr[inds] wheat: [ ]. [x + 10]
If he gri[nds] emmer-wheat: [ ].
If he grin[ds] (dried) chick peas: [ ].
If he grinds (dried) lentils: [ ].

[If] he mills [flo]ur: [his] w[ord].
[If] he sifts [flo]ur: [his] w[ord]. [x + 15]
[If] he makes[177] *mundu*-flour: [his word].
[If] he regrooves[178] the mill-stone: [ ].

If a man in his dream quarrels with the assembly:[179]
[ ]
If he quarrels with his father: ol[d age].

The text (*cf.* p. 335) then continues to enumerate quarrels with one's grandfather, mother, brother and wife, differentiating them in the last three instances according to whether the relatives are alive or not. Furthermore, there are quarrels with one's paternal uncle, son, and daughter. Here the text breaks off.

The narrow fragment *K.* 10852, which contains not more than the first signs of the protases, deals again with garments and seems to contain the same words as *K.* 9945+. Still, since it shows the left edge of the tablet, it cannot be placed on top of the central column of *K.* 9945+. It either belongs to another tablet dealing with the same topic or to the left column of *K.* 9945+. The garments mentioned on *K.* 10852 appear in groups (always TÚG.GÚ.È, TÚG.ÍB.LAL, TÚG.NA.x) which are repeated, obviously because they appear in the text with different verbs ("kennings") describing the activities of the dreamer.

Some insight into the nature of these activities can be gained from the text *K.* 9812. This fragment is rather important for the problem of the history of the Dream-Book because it shows that excerpts had been made of the traditional text for specific reasons. Such excerpts are always upon tablets of a certain shape, i.e., wider than they are high, and they take their designation IM.GÍD.DA (literally, "long tablet") from that external peculiarity. The width of the columns, the empty spaces left between the signs, the relaxation of the essential form requirements of the omen-collections indicate clearly that *K.* 9812 is an IM.GÍD.DA tablet. The first section (of which only nine lines are preserved) deals with garments; the contents of the next two sections cannot be established because only apodoses happen to be preserved.

The following translation does not follow the arrangement of the text on the tablet where, in several instances, two omina appear in the same line (only separated by a *Glossenkeil*), etc.

If he tears his garment into shreds: reduction [ ].
[If he will le]ave him.
If he cuts (to pieces) his ZAG-garment: (the disease) *siḫ[il šêri]*.[180]
[If he c]uts [his . . . garment]: a law-case w[ill].
[If he does] . . . [his . . . garment]: his riches [will].
[If he] x.
If he cuts a garment in . . .: the cur[se will].
[If he cu]ts [a/his . . . garment]: . . . sorrow will meet [him].[181]
[If he cu]ts [a/his . . . garment]: he will exp[erience] losses.
[If he garment]: he will experience gains.

The badly damaged content of this excerpt-tablet demonstrates the richness of the original tablet with regard to dreams dealing with garments. If the subsequent two sections of the IM.GÍD.DA *K.* 9812 had been better preserved, they would have enabled us to establish the sequence of topics and thus to allot the fragments of our group to a tablet of the Dream-Book.

We will close this section with the discussion of an isolated fragment of the Dream-Book. On *K.* 7068 we have some twenty-two lines of the right column of a two-column tablet, extremely well written and clearly organized in three sections. Unfortunately, none of the "kennings" of these sections can be read with certainty, so that we cannot place the fragment nor link it, however conjecturally, with any other group.

[174] The differentiation made between PA-*aṣ* (i.e., *imaḫḫaṣ*) and PA-*iṣ* is quite puzzling. Although we know *muḫḫuṣu* as a technical term referring to the plating of metal containers (with gold, *cf. VAB II*: 1474), it is not attested in connection with textiles, yet the fact that *maḫāṣu* ("to weave") refers here to garments, and *muḫḫuṣu* to the manufacture of headwear of felt(?) seems to indicate a technological difference. Thus read perhaps PA (=*umaḫḫiṣ*)^{iṣ}.

[175] For ŠE.ŠEŠ (pronounced šemuš), the "bitter barley," *cf.* the series d i r i V: 207.

[176] For ŠE.IN.NU.ḪA, an unidentified kind of barley, *cf. nabnîtu* IV: 256. The series *šumma âlu* derives an omen from the planting of this cereal in a town, *CT XXXIX* 3: 13. ŠE.IN.NU.ḪA is there followed by emmer, wheat, and sesame.

[177] For the technical term used here, *samādu*, *cf. Oppenheim-Hartman Beer*, index *s.v.*

[178] This meaning is proposed here partly on account of the context, partly with regard to the words *šatpu* "ditch" (*cf. Zimmern Beiträge, Šurpu* III: 92, v. Soden *apud* Güterbock *AfO* **13**: 50) and *šitpu* (á-A I_2 149, between *burtu* "well" and *issû* "pit"). In the vocabularies (*cf.* a n . t a . g á l III: 199) GUL = *na-qa-ru šá* NA_4.ḪAR denotes this activity.

[179] It is interesting to note that quarrels with the "assembly" precede those with relatives which may well be taken to show that this social institution (*cf.* here Th. Jacobsen, "Primitive democracy in Mesopotamia," *JNES* 2: 159 ff.) was still functioning—or well remembered.

[180] *Cf.* above note 42 for this disease.

[181] Unique use of *idirtu* with the verb *maḫāru*.

Of the "kenning" of the first section (eight lines preserved) only "*mi*" is extant. In view of the peculiar apodosis in line 7 "he is surrounded (*la-mi*) by a curse," we suggest restoring the "kenning" as [*la*]-*mi*, assuming as first line of this section: "[If a man in his dream is surrounded by . . .]." The prognostications of this section (*cf.* p. 336) are rather unusual; note: "powerful forces [ ]" (without parallel), "[he will experience] difficulties" (restored after *CT XXVII* 17: 35 *šumma izbu*), "he will live in poverty"[182] and "the joys of this man will be many" (without parallel).

The next section contains no indication as to the characteristic verb. The first line may have had the following wording: "[If the (image of the) deity appears(?) (in a dream)] and approaches (the man): he will not dwell among his family." Then follow three groups of three omina each which seem to describe the looks of the appearing deity. Each group has a specific verb: *labiš* "is clad," *ḫalip* "is cloaked" and *apir* "is crowned," and within each of these groups the very same three possibilities are enumerated: GI "reed," NA_4 "stone" and IM "clay." Apparently these omina speak of images made of these materials seen in dreams. The prognoses of the entire group are identical: "they have removed the sin of the man," and are of the type we have termed above (*cf.* p. 271) diagnostical, i.e., referring to a change in the status of the dreaming person.

After a dividing line, the "kenning" *ikrubšu* (written KA+ŠU-*šú*[183] is taken up with the apodoses running consistently, "If a(nother) man greets a man in his dream." Instead of NA, i.e., "a(nother) man," the next two lines have, "the king" and "an important person." The beginnings of two more lines are preserved (UZU "meat," DINGIR *u* LU[GAL] "god and king") but they do not fit the context, so that one is forced to assume a change in the characteristic verb, which is not likely because this text is clearly articulated by dividing lines between the "kennings." Another obscure point in a text full of difficult passages.

We still have to deal with a broken tablet (consisting of three fragments) representing, apparently, a Dream-Book for royal use.

The three pertinent fragments, *K.* 273, *K.* 1944b, and *K.* 9064, form a so-called "sandwich-join" which yields the two sides (obverse: *K.* 1944b and *K.* 9064; reverse: *K.* 273) of the lower half of the first column of a one- or two-column tablet. However, no traces of the second column are preserved anywhere, so that there is the very real possibility that the tablet had only one column.

[182] This translation is based on the assumption that *ina* LÁL GIN is to be connected with the logogram LÁL.DU *lapnu* "poor," assuming a haplology *ina* LÁL.DU <GIN>.

[183] The photo is not very revealing, but the copy of Klauber and the reading of *Boissier Choix de textes* 2: 30 speak for KA+ŠU, i.e., *karābu*.

At first glance one notices already that the text is arranged in two contrasting ways. Below the dividing line on the obverse we find that arrangement of signs which is characteristic for omina, although the initial wedges are all cleanly broken off. Their use in this text is, however, shown on the corresponding section of the reverse of the fragment, where the omina are equally set off from the balance of the text by means of such a dividing line. These two groups of omina amount to respectively nineteen and fourteen lines which can either form the beginning and the end of a section of omina that originally must have comprised about 175 lines of a two-column tablet (i.e., the entire second column of the obverse, the first of the reverse plus the extant lines), or much less if the lost columns were interrupted by sections which did not contain omina. If, however, this was a one-column tablet, the extant omen-lines would represent the entire omen-section.

The omen section on the obverse reads as follows:

If the "throne"[184] in his dream sleeps with a woman [ ].
If the "throne" in his dream [kisses(?)] the lips of a woman [ ].
If the "throne" in his dream [ ] the breasts [of a woman].
If the "throne" in his dream, a woman [ ]s [her] br[easts]. [15]
If the "throne" in his dream [sleeps(?)] with [ ].

Then follow four lines of which only the first words of the protases are preserved, and eight more lines showing the beginning of the dream-contents. The latter are all worded in the following way: "If the 'throne' in his dream [sees(?)] a dead (person) in [ ]" (lines x + 21, 23–26). Line x + 22 however replaces UG_5 "dead" with TI.L[A] "(a)live."

The text then continues:

If the "throne" in his dream vomits [ ].
If the "throne" in his dream [touches(?)] (dirty water from an) abl[ution].
If the "throne" in his dream [eats(?)] the meat of a p[ig].
If the "throne" in his dream [eats(?)] the meat of a [ ]. [30]

We turn now to the reverse without touching upon the problem of the size of the present tablet:

If the "throne" in his dream [ ]s the penis [of].
If the "throne" in his dream [touches] dog meat with [his] h[and].

[184] The use of $BARA_2$ (i.e., *parakku* "throne room") in the protases of omen-texts in the meaning of "king" has been pointed out already in *Weidner Handbuch* 90 (*cf.* also *Delitzsch HWB* 541*a* and now Falkenstein *ZA* 49: 131, 137). We use here "throne" instead of "throne room," conforming to English usage.

If the "throne" in his dream [touches] pork meat with [his] fo[ot].
If the "throne" in his dream [touches] pork fat with [his] foot [ ].
If the "throne" in his dream [touches] dog meat with [his] foot [ ]. [5]
If the "throne" in his dream falls from a roof: T[A].
If the "throne" in his dream [ ]s the "secret"[185] of a woman [ ].
If the "throne" in his dream [ ]s his own "secret" [ ].
If the "throne" in his dream [is clad(?)] in a *ḫa'û*-garment[186] [ ].
If the "throne" in his dream takes a dead dog and [ ]. [10]
If the "throne" in his dream [sees[187]] a dead mungo in the street [ ].
If the "throne" in his dream, dead animals [his] fl[esh].
If the "throne" in his dream [ ] . . . [ ].
If the "throne" in his dream, a man uri[nates] upon him [ ].
If the "throne" in his dream, a woman uri[nates] upon him [ ]. [15]
If the "throne" in his dream, a dog uri[nates] upon him [ ].
If the "throne" in his dream, a pig uri[nates] upon him [ ].

The problem of the length of the individual lines bears directly upon the supposed width of the columns and this again determines whether the present fragment comes from a tablet of one or two columns. The break seems to rob us with malicious consistency of all the apodoses. In fact, if it were not for the traces of a sign in line 6 (of the reverse), one could assert that no prognostications followed the description of the various dream-contents. This entire text could then be taken to list a number of uncanny and untoward incidents experienced in dreams which, for the king, require specific purification-rites. The mentioned sign in line 6, however, forces us to assume that very short apodoses now lost terminated each line. Consequently, if one does not assert that these apodoses consisted only of one word or very few signs, one has to posit that the lines were rather long, because none of the omina required a second line. Hence, the columns must definitely have been wide, which again compels us to decide in favor of a one-column tablet.

As already indicated, all dream-contents enumerated here are clearly ill-portending; the seeing of dead animals, the touching and eating of meats considered taboo, the pollution of sexual dreams, etc., all this points in the same direction. Such an arrangement is, of course, not accidental and it is difficult to visualize what the content of the prognostications might have been. Possibly these "omina" had in lieu of an apodosis only the statement that this was a bad dream requiring a ritual for the purification of the dreaming person. At any rate, the enumeration of these dreams is immediately followed by a conjuration addressing Shamash, the Sun-god, with the request for protection and delivery. Only the first lines of the prayer are preserved, and these are broken: "Shamash, king of heaven and earth, [ ], Shamash, pure god, [ ], Shamash, I, the so-and-so, son of so-and-so, . . . [ ]."

More important, however, for the understanding of this unique fragment would have been the twelve very damaged lines which precede—on the obverse—the so-called omina. Here unfortunately the broken left edge of the tablet prevents us from stating categorically whether these lines contained omina or not. We have only internal evidence, which seems to indicate that the former is more likely. At any rate, if these lines contained omina the protases did not refer to the king ($BARA_2$). Here is a word-by-word translation:

[ho]rs[e]
[ ]x[ ]
[ ] behind [him] [x + 5]
[ ] numerous [ ] with/in his hand [ ]
[ ] numerous [ ] in/with his foot [ ]
[ ] something which is not his [ ]
[ ] something which is not his [ ]
[ ] he sees a dead mungo in the street [ ]
[x + 10]
[ ] he is clad in a white garment, in his mouth[ ]

If these omina refer to the king, this would have been expressly stated in the lost lines of the upper half of the tablet. Then, however, one has to assume that two types of "royal" omina are listed in one and the same text, one of which refers expressly and in each line to the king, while the other uses the normal omen-style but indicates somehow in the "introduction" that the listed dream-contents were experienced by the king. Such an arrangement does not seem very plausible. Still, since the broken lines are more likely to contain omina than any other kind of text one would expect in such a context (i.e., ritual, prayer) we must assume that they represent "private" omina, even if this should be only a working hypothesis.

As a matter of fact, it is possible to explain the above described mixture of text-types by the assumption that our fragment (*K.* 273+) represents an excerpt. We know, in the series *šumma âlu*, of tablets which contain both omina and pertinent ritual (*cf.* for details below pp. 295 f.), and we know furthermore that this

[185] It is uncertain whether *puzru* is here used as a euphemistic expression or not.

[186] A garment *ḫa'um* recurs, to my knowledge, only in some Ur III texts, *cf. Legrain UET III* 1753, 1612 as a wool-cover for chairs.

[187] Restored after line x + 10 of the obverse.

omen-collection (i.e., *šumma âlu*) incorporates "royal" omina in the same series as private omina, although—as far as the evidence is extant—on separate tablets (*cf. CT XXXIX* 28, XL 8, 9, 35 f., 44). One could, therefore, assume that *K.* 273+ represents an excerpt from a non-canonical series of dream-omina which was of a composition paralleling that of some of the tablets of *šumma âlu*. The existence of such an extraneous (the Akkadian scholars used here the term *aḫû* "alien") series with dream-omina is a possibility which is likewise suggested by the repeatedly (*cf.* above pp. 275, 283) observed occurrence of fragments with dream-omina which we could not place in the series. However, in view of the large lacunae of the Dream-Book, we have to put such considerations aside till we have more texts at our disposal.

4. THE RITUAL TABLETS

Throughout this part we have repeatedly referred to the Tablets I, X, and XI of the Dream-Book as *Ritual-Tafeln* (i.e., tablets containing rituals). Before we set out to discuss the fragments coming from these tablets, an important qualification must be made: the German term *Ritual-Tafel* refers in the parlance of Assyriologists to those tablets of a series in which are listed the *incipits* of all the incantations contained in the main text together with pertinent instructions concerning the rituals that accompany their recital. Examples are the first tablet of the series *Šurpu* (*cf.* the forthcoming edition of Erica Reiner, University of Chicago), the last tablets of the series *Maqlû* (*cf. Meier Maqlû*) or of the series *Lamaštu* (*cf.* the forthcoming edition of F. Köcher, Berlin). If the term has to be taken in this narrow sense, the Dream-Book has no *Ritual-Tafeln* but only tablets in which a series of conjurations has been collected, together with their rituals.

This in itself is, however, a unique feature of our series and requires some comment. We know that the series *šumma âlu* (*cf.* above p. 242 for this opus) was compiled in a way that, in certain instances, short rituals were added to specific groups of omina. Thus the omina dealing with some kind of luminous phenomenon (*birṣu*) are followed by a ritual (*namburbû*) against this uncanny happening (*CT XXXVIII* 29: 46–51), those dealing with the appearance of certain fungi (*kamūnu*) are followed by a conjuration against them (*CT XXXVIII* 20: 63–72), etc. We find there likewise conjurations against the sting of a scorpion (*CT XXXVIII* 38: 55–72, also *CT XL* 27: 2, 4 etc.) after omina derived from the behavior of this insect, and against the appearance of ants in a house (*KAR* 377: rev. 37–40), etc.[188]

In view of this state of affairs, we explain the existence of three tablets in the Dream-Book containing nothing but incantations and rituals against the consequences of evil dreams as the result of a fusion of two literary patterns. The first is characterized by rituals which are added to collections of omina for the convenience of the reader; this is known only in the late texts of the series *šumma âlu*. The other pattern is attested in the great cultic series, such as *Šurpu*, *Maqlû*, and *Lamaštu*, in which entire tablets are dedicated to the listing of rituals. These tablets are placed in the canonical sequence of these collections either at their end (*Maqlû*, *Lamaštu*) or at the very beginning (*Šurpu*). The compiler of the Dream-Book followed the example of *šumma âlu* and added to the collection of dream-omina one of pertinent rituals, but he imitated likewise the prototype of the above mentioned cultic series by arranging these rituals in special tablets and by placing these tablets at the beginning as well as at the end of the sequence of omen tablets.

There are certain indications that this fusion was effectuated only rather late, and that, originally, the omina (that is: Tablets II–IX) and the rituals (Tablets I, X, XI) formed two separate groups of texts connected solely by the fact that both are concerned with dreams. The creation of the series ^{d}*Ziqīqu*, i.e., the Dream-Book as it was kept in the library of Assurbanipal, seems to be the work of Assyrian scholars of the period between the time of the Assur texts (*KAR* 252 is dated from 713 B.C.) and that at which the tablets for the royal library were collected and copied.

This hypothesis is suggested by two observations which will be presented here.

There is first the fact that two references attest the existence of a series containing specifically rituals which are to remove the evil consequences of untoward dreams. The famous text *KAR* 44 (*cf.* Zimmern, *ZA* **30**: 204 ff. for a translation) that lists the "textbooks" with which an apprentice to the *bārû*-priesthood had to acquaint himself, quotes in line 14, immediately following the important series *Maqlû* and *Šurpu*, an opus bearing the title: MÁŠ.GE$_6$.ḪUL SIG$_5$.GA "To make evil dreams pleasant (i.e., to change them into pleasant ones)." Apart from this Assur-passage, we have a reference to the same series in a Neo-Babylonian tablet excavated in Sippar (S 18, V. Scheil, *RA* **22**: 141). As "section no. 10" (X-*ú* GAB.DÙ), we find there, in a catalogue of conjurations, the following titles: "Dreams," "(Against the) seeing of dead people," "(Against) the evil of (certain) days, months and years," "(Against) a person losing things," "To remember what has been forgotten" and "(Against) evil signs."[189] Of the series catalogued here, we know only "Seeing of dead people," transliterated and translated (in part) by *Ebeling Tod und*

[188] An exception is offered in Tablet XVII of the series *šumma âlu* which deals with omina derived from the digging of wells. The reverse of the tablet (*CT XXXVIII* 23, *K.* 2312+) contains a ritual to be performed before the water of such a new well is to be tasted (*cf.* translation in *Oppenheim-Hartman Beer*, note 39).

[189] The text indicates that thirteen tablets or sections of the series "Dreams" have been known.

Leben 1 no. 30 (p. 122 ff.) The title of the first series, MÁŠ.GE$_6$, however, seems to have been an abbreviation of the title MÁŠ.GE$_6$.ḪUL SIG$_5$.GA mentioned in *KAR* 44: 14. The Neo-Babylonian catalogue of conjurations indicates that the series "Dreams" consisted of thirteen tablets which should not be taken as bearing directly upon the number of tablets in our series *Ziqīqu*, the Dream-Book, even though the latter contained originally eleven or twelve tablets. It is not certain at all, and perhaps not even likely, that these two series are identical; the former may well have consisted exclusively of conjurations and similar texts while the latter embraced dream-omina as well as a selection of such conjurations.

We propose to see in the three Assur tablets *LKA* 132, *KAR* 53 and 252 as well as in a series of British Museum tablets (*cf.* p. 299 for details) with conjurations written in Babylonian script, the evidence for the existence of such a series with incantations and pertinent rituals to be performed after one has experienced a bad dream or—prophylactically—to protect oneself against such occurrences. All these tablets contain a sequence of short sections, each consisting of a prayer and a ritual. Many of the individual sections appear in both text-groups (in the Assur and in the Babylonian excerpts) sometimes even in the same sequence[190] and repeatedly allow us to restore breaks and to utilize variant spellings for a better understanding of the difficult text.

These same conjurations recur also in the few fragments preserved of Tablets I, X, and XI of the Dream-Book. In fact, *LKA* 132, *KAR* 53, 252 and the group of excerpts in Babylonian script actually do furnish most of what we know of this section of the Dream-Book. Since *KAR* 53 and *KAR* 252 overlap and *LKA* 132 covers part of both texts, the Assur tablets are to be considered slightly differing copies of the same kind of collection and not part of the series *Ziqīqu* or of any other series, as the absence of any such indication on the preserved "subscription" of *KAR* 252 shows. We know, however, that copies of the Dream-Book, that is more exactly, texts which correspond to the omen-sections of the series *Ziqīqu*, such as *KAR* 470 and *VAT* 14279, were kept in Assur. Consequently, one may assume that at the time of the Assur tablets, the two groups of texts—the series "Proto-*Ziqīqu*," i.e., the omen-collection known today as Tablets II–IX, and the one presumably called "To make evil dreams pleasant" (or a very similar composition)—existed side by side. A generation later, in the library of Assurbanipal, these texts had already been fused, the series Proto-*Ziqīqu* having been enlarged by means of the conjurations to form the work we know as the Assyrian Dream-Book, and which the Assyrians called *iškar Ziqīqu* (*cf.* above p. 261).

This working hypothesis concerning the history of the Dream-Book can furthermore be supported by the fact that the tablets which contain excerpts of the series of conjurations against evil dreams are all written in Babylonian script, while this is not the case with any fragment containing omina. This proves that in later Babylon—as we know likewise from the quoted catalogue of conjurations—the collection of conjuration series was popular, in contrast to that of dream-omina which seem to have disappeared completely from Babylonian libraries after the Cassite period.

A surprising confirmation of this interpretation and, at the same time, an impressive illustration for the traditionalism of Mesopotamian religious practices comes from a small fragment (no. 149) discovered by S. N. Kramer in the Museum of Istanbul (S. N. Kramer, *Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur in the Museum of the Ancient Orient in Istanbul*, New Haven, American Schools of Oriental Research, 1944). Here we find in rev. ii: 8–11 a short prayer to the Sun-god which recurs *verbatim* in the Assur tablet *KAR* 252 I: 73–75 (and III: 4–9 in Akkadian, I: 62–63 in Sumerian) and is translated below on p. 303. This prayer was probably written down in Nippur in the first third of the second millennium B.C.—more than one thousand years earlier than *KAR* 252—among proverbs and similar texts (*cf.* J. J. A. Van Dijk, *La Sagesse Suméro-Accadienne* 9, Leiden, Brill, 1953) patently as a quotation of a well-known conjuration. In fact, the lines 8–10 of Tablet I of the Dream-Book (*cf.* p. 297) represent an Akkadian translation of this Sumerian prayer.

Thus the following picture of the text-history of the series *Ziqīqu* presents itself. From the late Old Babylonian period onwards, a collection of dream-omina was known in Mesopotamia (Babylon) as well as in Susa. This type of literature did not enjoy much popularity in the South, but was nevertheless incorporated in the scholarly texts which came to Assyria during the extensive and thorough process of reception. We find copies of this omen-collection in Calah (cf. above p. 275) and Assur but mainly—probably due to the antiquarian interests of Assurbanipal—in Nineveh. Here, however, we find it in a new form, enlarged by substantial additions consisting of rituals against evil dreams.

These additions come from a collection of conjurations of which the title is quoted by Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian scholars (*cf.* p. 295). As has been shown above, some of these conjurations had been known and used already in the Neo-Sumerian period.

Turning now to the extant texts for the reconstruction of Tablets I, X, and XI of the Dream-Book, we have to state again that only very few fragments can definitely be assigned to specific tablets.

[190] The same sequence that was shown in *KAR* 252 can be observed in the following instances: *K.* 3333 covering lines II: 15–28 (i.e., three sections), 81-2-4, 233 covering lines III: 37–44 (two sections), *K.*13330 covering lines III: 49–54 (three sections), *K.* 4103 covering lines III: 53–61 (five sections).

We have, quite fortunately, in *K.* 3758 the very beginning of Tablet I and in *K.* 4103 + *K.* 13330 the last fifteen lines of Tablet X. The contents of Tablets X and XI can be restored to a large extent by means of the Assur texts *LKA* 132, *KAR* 53 and 252 as well as by means of the Babylonian excerpts (*cf.* p. 299.) As to contents and style, Tablet I on one side and Tablets X and XI on the other seem to show certain differences and thus to illustrate a stage of the text-history which we cannot as yet follow. For details, *cf.* below.

Lastly, there is a small group of fragments such as *K.* 5175 + *K.* 6001, which cannot be allocated, *Sm* 543, which is too small, and the atypical 81-2-4, 166 that we cannot utilize at the moment.

The first tablet of our series begins (on fragment *K.* 3758) with a solemn invocation of the God of dreams followed by a prayer to Shamash, his father. The first lines have the specific flavor of the early Mesopotamian incantations and have obviously been taken from some old, most likely Old Akkadian, text.

[Conjuration: *Zi*]*qīqu*, *Ziqīqu*, M a m u , god of [dreams!]
In the town of Agade you li[ve],
why have you l[eft] the town of Agade?
The confused dreams, [ ]
[who(?)] will remove them [now(?)]?
The town of Agade w[hen]
by himself [ ].
Oh Shamash, [you are] judg[e, judge my case]
(you) who renders deci[sions, render one for me,]
the [evil] dreams [which I have had, make favorable]!
[May I walk[191]] the straight road [ ]!

(break)

This invocation mentions first two of the names of the god and then sets out to tell a short story which connects this god with the old town of Agade, the capital of the empire of the first Sargon. In these six damaged lines some cultic incident connected with the departure of the God of dreams from his town Agade is cast in a poetic language typical of early incantations (Old Akkadian, Old Assyrian, and Old Babylonian). The relationship between *Ziqīqu* and the cults of Agade remains in the dark and cannot be paralleled by outside references.[192] It seems as if the compiler is quoting here an old text—perhaps on the level of folklore and not of the official religious life—to enhance the introit with the mood of authenticity based on antiquarian considerations.

Then Shamash is addressed in three verses which represent the Akkadian version of a very old Sumerian incantation (*cf.* above p. 269) against the consequences of evil dreams. The Sun-god, be he called ^{d} U t u or *Šamaš* is always invoked when his help is needed to remove the "miasma" caused by evil dreams, because his is the ultimate authority to send as well as to ward off dream-demons. That is why the prayer turns from *Ziqīqu*, the child of Shamash (*cf.* above p. 232), to the Sun-god himself.

Another fragment which can be definitely placed in the tablets of the Dream-Book is *K.* 4103 + *K.* 13330, on which we find the last fifteen lines (badly damaged) of Tablet X, the colophon of Tablet XI ("If a man has s[een] confused dreams") and the actual "subscription," i.e., the reference to the series, the library, etc. The preserved lines can be fully restored, because they recur *verbatim* in the Assur tablet *KAR* 252 (III : 52–61) which, we assume, contained the text of the conjuration-series MÁŠ.GE$_6$ (*cf.* above p. 295). For a translation, *cf.* below p. 301.

We thus have of the entire Tablet X only the last fifteen lines and—preserved as a catchline on *Sm* 251+ (i.e., the end of the fourth column of Tablet IX, *cf.* above p. 281)—the following protasis: "If (a man) sleeps on his right (side) and has a dream (and the dream is) confused." It is possible and even likely that this line introduced a section at the beginning of Tablet X which dealt with the influence of the position of the sleeping person upon his dreams. In Mesopotamian divination practices the positions, movements, and individual habits of a sleeping person are indeed considered of significance and have omina derived from them in the series *šumma âlu* (*cf.* a forthcoming article of mine), so that it is quite likely that they were believed to influence dreams as to their prognostications. This, however, we have not been able to parallel in any of the civilizations of the ancient Near East. As matters stand now, the quoted protasis of the first line of Tablet X is all the evidence available.

The fragment *K.* 8583 seems to belong likewise to our series. It comes from the upper right corner of a two-column tablet[193] and represents the top either of the second column of the obverse or the first of the reverse. The writing and the double division line which separates the columns suggest definitely that this fragment as well as *K.* 3333, *Sm* 1069, *K.* 5175+, and *K.* 8171+ must come from one of the three tablets (Tablets I, X, and XI). With the exception of *K.* 8583, all the mentioned fragments have parallel lines in *KAR* 252, which we take—again as working hypothesis—to indicate that *K.* 8583 belongs to Tablet I and all the others to either Tablet X or XI. *K.* 8583, however, shows a type of ritual which recurs in the Babylonian excerpt 79-7-8, 77 rev.: x + 1–18 (*cf.* note 194).

In order to show the difference between these two

[191] Restored after *KAR* 252 III : 11 (and *King BMS* 6, 116–117), for translation of the passage, *cf.* p. 300.

[192] For local cults of the god M a . m ú, *cf.* perhaps the remarks on p. 232.

[193] It is possible that *K.* 8583 (right upper corner of a two-column tablet) and *K.* 3758 (left upper corner of such a tablet) come from the same tablet but no physical "join" can be made.

groups of fragments, we offer first a translation of *K.* 8583.[194] The text begins in the midst of a description of a ritual addressing the god Nusku:

in front of the "Lamp" he shall . . . a bundle of reeds . . . the
hem of the right side of his (garment) he shall cut off and
hold it in front of the "Lamp." He shall say as follows:
"You are the judge, judge (now) my case: This dream
which during the first or the middle or the last watch of the night [5]
was brought to me and which you know but I do not know—
if (its content predicts something) pleasant, may its pleasantness not escape me—
if (it predicts something) evil, may its evil not catch me—
(but) verily (this dream) be not mine! Like this reed is plucked (from the bundle) [and]
will not return to its (original) place and this hem was cu[t] from my garment [and] [10]
will not return to [my] garment[195] after it has been cut off, this dream
which [was brought] to me in the first or the middle or the last watch of the night
shall verily be not mine!" In front of the . . . [ ]
he shall bre[ak][196] the reed into two [ ]
the following he shall say: [ ] [15]
(break)

The setting of this prayer to the god, Nusku, as dispenser of dreams parallels that of the conjuration *KAR* 58: rev. 1–17. The latter is also to be recited in front of the "Lamp" (in *KAR* 58: 25 ^{d}LÁḪ as against *nûru*), i.e., the symbol of the god, depicted upon a *kudurru* (*MDP I* fig. 379) as a lamp with the subscription: ^{d}Nusku. In *KAR* 58 the deity is characterized as *muttallik mûši* "strolling through the night" and is implored to pardon (expressed in legal terms: to render his decision) the praying person who expects a dream reflecting the changed attitude of the deity. The text turns then to AN.ZAG.GAR.RA, the Dream-god, the means of communication, and eventually to the night and its watches, which are thought of as being awake and ready, like messengers, to impart decisions to the waking and the sleeping alike.

A prayer to Nusku is likewise used in the ritual against evil dreams preserved on the Assur tablet *LKA* 132: 19–21 which is to be performed *ina* IGI *nu-ri* "before the lamp." Line 19 quotes the *incipit* of a prayer which is extant on *KAR* 58: 39 ff. and runs: ^{d}LÁḪ(!) LUGAL *mu-ši mu-na-mir uk-li* "Divine Lamp, king of the night, spreading light through the darkness!"

In our text (*K.* 8583), however, the god Nusku is addressed in an entirely different way, although for a similar purpose: the removal of the consequences of evil dreams. The person who pronounces the prayer (*logos*) and performs the described actions (*praxis*) desires to clean himself from the contamination experienced, knowingly or not, in and through a dream. The basic meaning of both prayer and ritual is to effect a separation between the individual and the "miasma" caused by a dream. The patient requires that the dream "be not his" (*la ʾattun šî*),[197] nor should its prediction affect him—except to his advantage, as the prayer naively contradicts itself. The ritual is meant to symbolize both: irrevocable separation and

[194] The text of 79-7-8, 77: rev. x+3–17 shows both variants and additional phrases. The main variants are the use of *ia-ú* (lines x + 8 and 9) instead of the normal *a-a* of *K.* 8583, the word *niṭpu* instead of *ašru* (x + 10 GIM GI *an-nu-ú na-aṭ-pu-ma* [*ana*] *ni-iṭ-pi-šú la i-*[ ] as against ana KI-*šú* NU GUR). The more interesting differences of the structure of the text can be gathered from the following translation which begins line x + 13, and happens to correspond to line 13 of *K.* 8583, which breaks off just at this point. After the scribal note "new break" followed by seven readable but unintelligible signs we have:

. . . he shall break(?) (*cf.* note 196) the reed into three (pieces) wrap the hem (of his garment, previously cut off) around it:
"(Now) you are bound, in fetters, tied up!
in front of your great godhead I shall burn it!"
(this) he shall say and then "touch" the floor, you light the flame, pronounce a benediction to your (personal) god and goddess and to the lamp and he (the dreamer) will be well (again).

[195] The word *ḫi-bi* "broken" indicates here, according to the practice of the Mesopotamian scribes, that the tablet was copied from a damaged original.

[196] The phrase GI *ana* 2-*šú i-ḫa-m*[*i-iš*] recurs twice in the dream-rituals. *Cf. ana* 3-*šú i-ḫa-am-meš* in 79–7–8, 77: rev. 14 (*cf.* below) and *KAR* 252 I: 41 GI *šu-a-ti ana* 2 *ta-ḫa-mi-i*[*š*]. In all instances it describes a symbolic act destined to visualize the complete annihilation of the evil consequences of a dream. In the present text (*K.* 8583) this is rather obvious, for 79-7-8, 77 (rev.) *cf.* the translation offered in note 194. The damaged section *KAR* 252 I: 28–50 (the division-line before line 28 is visible on the photo of the tablet but has not been copied) contains the third reference to *ḫamāšu* in a context similar to that of *K.* 8583; the hem of the garment of the dreaming person is mentioned (I: 29), some phrases of a prayer to Shamash are preserved (I: 36, 43), but no connected sentences can be translated.

The meaning of *ḫamāšu* as said of reed suggested by these passages, i.e., "to break," does not fit the meaning of another *ḫamāšu* which in the vocabularies describes the condition of human teeth ("loose") (*nabnîtu* 22: 119–120), of grain ("rotten") with the Sumerian correspondences ḪUM and ḪAŠ. *Cf.*, however, a l a n *-lânu* A: 194–199 which shows *ḫamāšum* (ZUR.ZUR) in a group with *dâku*, *dakāku*, *ḫuppû*, *ḫuššu*[*lu*], and *ḫuṣṣ*[*uṣu*] and thus is in harmony with *ḫamāšu* "to break" or the like as attested in our rituals.

[197] Note that our conjuration uses the old formula of Akkadian conjurations, *la ʾattun*, in a novel way. It usually appears at the end in the following context: "this conjuration (which I have just recited) is not mine (*ul ʾattun*) (i.e., neither invented nor owned by me), it is a conjuration of the god NN"; here are mentioned the names of Ea, Marduk or of other gods known for their magic power. In our text, however, the phrase, "It (i.e., the dream and its consequences) is (or shall) not (be) mine!" is repeated twice. The context is: "This dream . . . shall not be mine! Exactly as the reed . . . the hem . . . do not return, this dream . . . shall not be mine!" Such a novel use of an established ritual formula is very rare in Mesopotamian religious literature.

annihilation of the ego affected by the dream. The plucking (*naṭāpu*) of the reed out of its bundle represents the former and the tearing off of a part of the hem of the garment of the dreamer stands for the latter, the hem of a garment being thought of as symbol and carrier of the personality of its wearer.

Lines 6 and 7 of this prayer, expressing the wish that the good consequences of a forgotten dream should not escape the worshiper, have found a curious echo in a prayer quoted in the Babylonian Talmud (*Berakoth* 55*b*) which we give here in a condensed form after the translation in I. Epstein, ed., *The Babylonian Talmud*, 339 f. (London, Soncino Press, 1948): "Sovereign of the Universe, I am Thine and my dreams are Thine. I have dreamt a dream and I do not know what it is . . . if they are good dreams confirm them and reinforce them . . . and if they require a remedy, heal them. . . . As Thou didst turn the curse of the wicked Balaam into a blessing, so turn all my dreams into something good for me!"

As to those fragments which we are inclined to attribute to the last two tablets of the Dream-Book (i.e., Tablets X and XI), we have first: *K.* 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058 forming clearly the lower section of the first column of the obverse of such a tablet, then *K.* 3333, lower section of the first column of the reverse with part of the uninscribed second column, and finally *Sm* 1069 showing remnants of two columns of a two-column text which do not allow us to establish whether it is of the obverse or the reverse. Then there is the join *K.* 5175 + *K.* 6001 covering parts of two columns, and the small fragment *Sm* 543 which does not even contain one complete line.

Since the sequence of the incantations on the extant tablets of the series MÁŠ.GE$_6$ from Nineveh and Assur does not seem to be standardized, we cannot attempt to arrange the fragments of our Dream-Book in the original sequence of the two tablets of which they are parts.[198] However, we give below a list of the parallels which link the Nineveh fragments to the Assur text *KAR* 252. Translations will be offered in the discussion of *KAR* 252 on pp. 300 f. The list includes also those Neo-Babylonian excerpts of the series which are kept in the British Museum and are published in the present book. Their contents will likewise be translated when the conjurations of *KAR* 252 are typologically analyzed:

K. 3286 (= *Gray Shamash* pl. 3) = *KAR* 252 III: 20–26
K. 3333 = *KAR* 252 III: 16–28
K. 4103 + 13330 = *KAR* 252 III: 52–61
K. 8171 + lines 5–6 = *KAR* 252 I: 71–72
lines: 7–14 = *KAR* 252 I: 19–27 (with variants) for further parallels *cf.* note 232.
lines: 15–23 = *KAR* 252 I: 79–II: 16 (with variants) for further parallels *cf.* note 232.
K. 8583 = 79-7-8, 77 rev. x + 1–18 and *KAR* 252 I: 28–50
K. 13330 (*cf. K.* 4103) = *KAR* 252 III: 49–54
Sm 1069 (right col.) lines: 3–7 = *KAR* 252 I: 7–12
(left col.) = *KAR* 252 I: 1–6
79-7-8, 77 obv. lines: 1–15 (excerpt) = *KAR* 252 II: 58–III: 3
rev. lines: x + 1–18 (excerpt) = *K.* 8583
81-2-4, 233 (excerpt) = *KAR* 252 III: 37–44

Since it seems impossible to reconstruct the contents of Tablets I, X, and XI of the Dream-Book with the small number of fragments at hand, we intend to present here the text *KAR* 252 as far as it is preserved and legible. The 265 lines of this document contain the very material which the compiler of our series utilized to fill the *Ritual-Tafeln*. The three tablets, however, have certainly been inscribed with three times as many lines, so that *KAR* 252 can only provide us with one third of their content. Even if *KAR* 53 and *LKA* 132 had been completely preserved it remains doubtful whether this would have helped us much, since the first lines of *KAR* 53 (lines 1–15) correspond exactly to the last lines of *KAR* 252 (lines IV: 38–47) and on *LKA* 132 the lines x + 2–26 correspond to *KAR* 252 IV: 21–47 (with small variants and omissions) while *LKA* 132: x + 11–17 and x + 21–26 parallel *KAR* 53: 1–15. The sequence of conjurations on *KAR* 53 and *LKA* 132 on the one hand and *KAR* 252 on the other evidently differed, so that the only possible procedure is to treat each conjuration as an independent unit composed of an incantation and its pertinent ritual, and to renounce all attempts at full reconstruction.

Again, we have decided to depart from the customary approach in such matters. Instead of simply translating the conjurations of *KAR* 252 in the accidental sequence of this document, restoring the gaps by means of the excerpts quoted on above, we propose to deal with the material from the phenomenological angle. The balance of this section will, therefore, be taken up with translations of these conjurations organized according to the nature of the pertinent ritual. First we shall deal with conjurations relying exclu-

[198] Since *KAR* 252 III: 60 corresponds to the last line of Tablet XI, *KAR* 252 would dedicate 210 lines to Tablet X and only 55 to Tablet XI, which is not likely.

sively upon the power of the word, then with those based upon analogy-magic meant to enhance the efficiency of the incantation by means of certain symbolic or ritual acts. In the latter case, specific variations of the "mechanism" of the catharsis will be singled out and investigated.

Type A (*KAR* 252 I: 7–12)[199]

If a man had a wrong dream
he must, in order that its evil (consequences) may not affect him,
say to himself before he sets (in the morning) his foot upon the floor: "The dream I have had
is good, good, verily good before Sin and Shamash!"
Thus he shall say. (In this way) he makes a good *egirrû*
for himself and the <evil> of his dream will not come near him.

The counter-magic against the dangers of an evil dream consists here in the conscious creation of a favorable omen, an *egirrû* (*cf.* above p. 211) which is normally a chance utterance overheard and received as a divinely activated sign.

Type *B* (*KAR* 252 III: 4–17)[200] (Sumerian with Akkadian interlinear translation)

Shamash, you are the judge—judge my case!
You are the one who makes the decisions—decide my case!
Change the dream I had into a good one!
May I walk the straight road, may I have a companion!
Shamash, all day [may they be good for me]
Shamash, all month may they be go[od for me!]
(Title:) A ritual "preparation" to remove (the consequences of) evil dreams.
He shall recite this prayer with uplifted hands before Shamash and he will be relieved.

This type represents the approach which relies on prayers without any specific ritual activity. *Cf.* also the short conjuration which dispenses with magic and seems to be very old and probably misunderstood by the scribe:

KAR 252 III: 47–51[201]

Conjuration: Dispel, remove the curse, . . . dog!
May the wind carry off the evil of the dream I have had!
(Title:) A prayer to remove the evil consequences of an evil dream.
Ritual for this: When he has a dream he shall libate vinegar
before he sets his foot on the floor. (Then) he shall set his foot on the floor. The evil of the dream will be removed from him.

Type C[202] (*KAR* 252 II: 58–III: 3)

Conjuration: My dream was pleasant, my *egirrû* good,
good before Sin and Shamash, good before Sin and Shamash,
good before Sin and Shamash! Upon the command of queen Ninlil
without whom no decision concerning the country is made,[203] (now) I made a good (omen)—
may it be for the good! (now) I have set (my) foot on the floor—may it be for the good!
All day may they be good for me, all month may they be good for me, all year may they be good for me!
May they remove what spell has been pronounced against me, may they remove what hate has done to me, may they give back to me what was taken away,
may they put into my hands (again what I lost) unknowingly!
I belong to the heroic Marduk, son of Ea:
when misfortune sees me, may it hide itself,
may I not fall from misfortune into more misfortune!
(In Sumerian:) Marduk, first-born son of the Abyss!
it is for you to make things good and pleasant,
be conjured in the name of heaven, be conjured in the name of the netherworld!
(Title:) A prayer to remove (the consequences of evil) dreams.
Ritual for this: If a man has had a dream and cannot [remember it] he shall wash his hands with soap in his bed
before he sets his foot on the floor then
he shall recite (this) conjuration three times and he will be lucky.
(Variant adds:) Second ritual for this: Set your left foot on the right side of your bed on the floor and recite the conjuration three times.

The ritual activities prescribed for this conjuration will be used here to investigate two approaches to

[199] Parallel: *Sm* 1069 right col.: 3–7 with few variants. Note that ḪUL has been erroneously omitted in the last line of both texts. The fragment *Sm* 1069 contains, furthermore, in the remnants of a left column the ends of five lines of the dream-ritual which we have on *KAR* 252 I: 1–6. The two lines at the top of the right column (*cf.* also *LKA* 132: x + 19) show references to a prayer to Nusku by mentioning *nûru* "lamp," and sections of seven broken lines (lines 8–14) of another dream-ritual without great interest.

[200] The last three lines recur on *K.* 3333: x + 1–3. The Sumerian text appears also (except for the fifth and the sixth line) in *KAR* 252 I: 73–77.

[201] The last three lines recur on *K.* 13330. The obscure phrase in the first line (*KAR* 252 III: 47) runs UR.ZÍR *i-gi-bi.*

[202] Parallel: 79-7-8, 77: 1–16 and also *ibidem* 17–26. In the latter section (line 23) the scribe added the phrase *a-a ip-rik.* *Cf.* next note.

[203] Instead of [*purussē mâti*] *parāsu* of *KAR* 252, the fragment 79-7-8, 77: 4 has *šîmat mâti šâmu.*

cathartic practices: the removal of the contamination by magic means and—obviously following a folklore pattern—the duping of the evil demons. The former is exemplified by the washing of the hands of the dreamer, the latter by the way he is to leave his bed, evading and outwitting the demons waiting for him. This very same practice is illustrated in another short conjuration, again couched in the peculiar language of early Babylonian and Assyrian conjurations that are sometimes so difficult to understand in their actual meaning as well as with regard to their implications. Old folklore practices and formulae have here been preserved, obviously often in corrupted form. But then meaningless and obscure phraseology has always been taken to enhance the power and the efficiency of this type of conjuration; here is an example:

KAR 252 III: 52–58 (≅III: 33–36)[204]

Conjuration: Ram of storm slaughter(ed) (with) a dagger of wind! the dead eat (it) and they drink (var.: eat) (it)—(but) it is nothing but wind! The dream which I had this night—like the tip of my foot cannot touch my heel—the dream which I had shall not come near me, shall not touch me. (Final) magic formula of the conjuration (to be recited here). (Title:) A prayer to change evil dreams into good ones. Ritual for it: With his foot he shall touch the floor on the side (of the bed) on which he was sleeping. He shall recite the conjuration three times and turn then over to the other side (to get out of bed) and his misfortune will be removed.

Instead of removing the contamination of a bad dream by actually cleaning the body with water, another technique seems to have been considered especially potent: the rubbing of the entire body with a lump of earth supposed to absorb the imaginary pollution of the person of the dreamer, and the destruction of that lump. Thus the evil consequences of a dream were thought to be annihilated. For an analogous Egyptian ritual *cf.* p. 244.

We bring forward here, as Type D, an especially long and rather poetically worded example of a conjuration used with such a lump of earth (Sum.: LAG, Akk. *kurbannu*):

Type D (*KAR* 252 III: 20–38)[205]

Conjuration: When you, Oh Shamash, rise from the Cedar-Mountain, (all) the gods greet you with jubilations,
all mankind rejoices over you. (Then) the *bārû*-priest brings you (an offering of)
cedar (perfume), the widow (only) m a d g a - (and *kukkušu*)-flour, the poor woman (some) oil,
the rich from his wealth brings you a lamb,
but I bring you a lump (of clay), the product of the netherworld!
"Oh lump, product of the netherworld, in my substance has been fused
your substance, in your substance has been fused my substance,
in my 'self' has been mixed your 'self,' in your 'self' has been mixed my 'self.'
As I am throwing you, lump, (now) into water and (there) you will crumble, disintegrate
(and) dissolve, may the evil of the dream which I had during the night—
(whether) I saw a god, a king, an important person, a prince, a dead (or) a living person—
your right . . . I turn towards left[206]—
just like yourself, fall into the water and crumble, disintegrate
and dissolve!"[207]
(Title:) A prayer for one who has had a "dark" dream. Ritual
for it: He shall take a lump (of earth) from a closed-up door, he shall recite three times the conjuration over it, he shall throw (it) into water. His misfortune will depart.

The variations on the theme of the *ku/irbannu* (lump) are as frequent in our text material as they are revealing with regard to the magic practices and their implications. There is, e.g., one variant which turns to Ea, the god of the Abyss, obviously because the lump of clay is not only taken from that realm

[204] Parallel: *K.* 4103 + 13330 (for lines 55–61) which contains the last lines of the Tablet X of the Dream-Book and the "catch-line," i.e., the first line of Tablet XI = *KAR* 252 III: 61.

[205] Parallels: *K.* 3333 corresponding to the first nine lines, and *K.* 3286 (published in *Gray Shamash*, pl. III) to the first six lines. The variants are rather insignificant: *K.* 3286 has *ta-at-tap-ḫa* for *it-tap-ḫa* in the other texts; *K.* 3333 has *a-me-lu-tú* as against LÚ.DIDLI of the other texts; *K.* 3286 adds *ku-uk-ku-šu* before ZÍD.MAD.GÁ against the other texts, and DUMU.DINGIR-*šú* between *ana-ku* and *na-šá-ka-ak-ku*(!), etc.

K. 5175 + *K.* 6001 runs parallel to lines 6–11 of *K.* 3333 with interesting elaborations regarding the contents of the evil dreams. The pertinent lines (x + 6–9) run as follows:

"(the dream which) I have seen, repeatedly seen, (that) I saw my dead father,
(that) I saw my dead mother, (that) I saw Shamash (or) the king, (that) I saw an important person, (that) I saw a prince,
(that) I saw a dead person, (that) I saw a living person, (that) I saw something I did not know, (that) I travelled to an unknown country,
(that) I ate an unknown dish(?), (that) . . . in an unknown garment."

It is to be noted that this passage refers to topics dealt with in the Dream-Book, such as traveling in dreams, eating of all kinds of food, dressing (attested only in one line, *cf.* above pp. 262 and 264). The seeing of dead relatives, however, is not mentioned in the extant fragments, nor are visits at court and in temples. The fact that the handling or any contact with unknown and strange objects is typically considered evil, is borne out by the apodoses of the omina which refer specifically to such instances; *cf.* p. 271.

[206] Unintelligible.

[207] Here the text continues with the conjuration translated above (*KAR* 252 III: 52–55.).

(*cf.* above), but also because it is later to be thrown into the water:

KAR 252 III: 39–46[208]

Ea, king of the Abyss, who fashioned heaven and earth, created mankind,
who prescribes the course of events,[209] who is helpful, who renders decisions for god and man (alike)
(as) to the dream I had this night—
I am afraid, perturbed, deeply depressed—
if it was good may the good (it predicted) happen to me! Like the lump which I throw (now) into the water
in front of you, may (the evil of the dream) become disintegrated (and) melt away!
(Final) magic formula of the conjuration (to be recited here).

Most explicit with regard to the function of the "lump" is a section of *K.* 8171+ (*cf.* above p. 299) which comes most likely from the Dream-Book and has, so far, no direct parallel in *KAR* 252, probably because of breaks in the latter.

Type E (*K.* 8171+: x + 15–23)

If a man has had an evil dream at night [he shall take]
(and) smear it over his entire body. Towards the East [ ] over a sherd [ ].
Thus he shall say to the lump: "Lump! in your substance
my substance has been fused, in my substance your substance has been fused!"
(Then) he shall tell (*pašāru*) (the lump) all the dreams he has had (and say):
As I shall throw you (now), lump, into water and
you will crumble and disintegrate, may the evil (consequences) of all the dreams seen
be gone, be melted away, be sixty double-miles removed from my body!"
This he shall say to the lump and throw (it) into water and (the evil) will pass him by.
(Title:) If a man has had an evil dream, that (its evil consequences) should not affect him.

The main importance of Type E lies in its concise statement concerning a new way to "transfer" the evil dream to the lump of clay which is then to be destroyed. This is done on one hand by physically mixing the evil clinging to the body of the dreamer into the lump—and, on the other hand, magically, by reporting (*pašāru*) the dream content to the lump.

We shall presently offer more examples of such practices. At this point, however, a somewhat more wordy variant of the formulae which accompany the destruction of the lump of earth, carrier of all the evil of the dream, will be given. It is taken from a very damaged section of *KAR* 252. The text of the conjuration begins with the *kirṣu*-formula (I: 79–II: 1) which magically identifies the "substance" of the body of the dreamer with that of the lump of clay, seems to describe the time and nature of the dream,[210] and then continues:

KAR 252 II: 6–18

". . . as I shall throw you (lump) into water (and)
you will disintegrate (and) dissolve and never [return] to your (original) place
may the evil of this dream (which) are . . . upon you [when I throw you] into water
crumble, disintegrate (and) dissolve, [never return] to its (original) place!
May it (the evil) cross the river, scale the mountains! May my evil be dissolved,
like smoke may it rise skyward, like (this) torn off twig of the tamarisk may it not [return] to its (original) place!
Tamarisk, purify me! *maštakal*-plant, absolve me!
'Heart' of the date-palm, may make me holy! the river may receive me (for an immersion)
(and) endow me with its (pure) sheen, may it carry off my misfortune!
Oh Shamash, the dream I had shall be good; Oh Shamash, the dream I had shall be trustworthy!
Oh Shamash, change the dream I had into a good one!"
Ritual for it: He shall recite this conjuration three times either over a lump of salt or over a lump of clay,
throw it into water and the evil (consequences) of the dream will not affect the man.

On p. 217 ff. we discussed at length the specific twofold semasiological aspect of the Sumerian verb b ú r and of the corresponding Akkadian *pašāru*. The use of the latter (*pašāru*) in the conjurations of Type E illustrates as lucidly as one would wish the nuance: "to report a dream" with the important difference that the rationale of the "dream-transfer" is in our instances clearly the desire to annihilate the evil consequences. The reporting of the dream is—in these rituals—mostly termed *pašāru* (as in the epical passages quoted p. 217) but in a few instances this verb is replaced by *manû* "to recite" (*cf.* also p. 304).

KAR 252 I: 51–78

If he had a dream and its evil depresses him [ ]
he shall t[ake] a lump [of clay and] the entire "evil" of the d[ream]

[208] The invocation of Ea recurs on the Babylonian excerpt 81-2-4, 233: 3–5 in another context (pattern of the Shamash prayer). Instead of the awkward epitheton *ēpiš usâte* (said ordinarily of human beings and kings) we have in 81-2-4, 233: 3 "who assigns (lit.: gives) *nindabû*-offering to the great gods."

[209] A free translation of an important but difficult phrase which occurs frequently in religious cuneiform texts.

[210] *Cf.* lines II: 4–6 which correspond exactly to *K.* 5175 + 6001: x + 6–9 (see p. 301 and note 205).

[he shall re]cite over the [lump] and [then he shall say] in front of Shamash
as follows: "[a]s [I shall throw] the lump into water
[Sh]amash, judge of the Upper [and the Nether world]"
(two lines destroyed)
[ ] you shall prostrate yourself before the god . . .
. . . you shall say a benediction and you will be well.
(Sumerian:) "Utu, you are the judge of heaven and earth,
. . . Utu, listen to the accuser!
You are judge, [judge my case],
you are the one who renders the decisions, render a decision!
My [evil] dream . . . my failing [health];
like the lump [thrown] into water, annihilate its [evil(?)]!"
Conjuration: Utu, judge of heaven and earth,
[*ditto*(?)] of the countries, judge; my prayer
[ ] my [fai]ling [health],
[ ] my bad dreams, my failing health, . . .
[ ] restore them! (Final) magic formula (to be recited here).
[Ritual for it:] A lump (of clay) from the Westwall . . . he shall lift up;
three times [he shall rec]ite the conjuration over it; he shall throw (it then) into water and he will be relieved.
Conjuration: Utu, you are the chief-justice of all judges,
you are the one who makes the decisions, make a decision for me!
[The dream] which I had, change into a good one,[211]
may I walk the correct road, may I acquire a friend!
May my [dreams(?)] be pleasant.
[Two pra]yers; he shall recite (them) with uplifted hands to Shamash and he will be relieved.

In line 28 of the fragment 79-7-8, 77 (Babylonian script) we find an interesting parallel to the "technique" applied in Type E. The text is very much damaged but seems to contain a ritual which consists basically of (*a*) washing one's hands three times after a dream, after one has recited a conjuration as many times, and (*b*) transferring the "dream" into the water. The latter is expressed as follows: "this dream you shall tell three times into the heart of the water" (MA.MÚ *šu-a-ti 3-šá ana* ŠAG$_4$ A BÚR).[212] Patently the water, which thus has taken up not only the miasma of the evil encounter thought to leave its traces upon the body of the dreaming person but also the very contents of the dream, is then to be poured out to the accompaniment of appropriate prayers.

The passage offers thus another instance (*cf.* also p. 304) of the coexistence of two analogous magical practices: the removal of the imaginary contamination from the body of the dreamer is paralleled by the magic method of reporting the dream-content to a carrier later to be destroyed.

Apart from the use of water as a means of destroying the evil of a dream, we have references to practices which rely upon the cathartic power of fire as do many and important conjuration-series in Mesopotamian magic. Note for instance a very short but representative conjuration of this kind:

Type F (*KAR* 252 I: 13–15)

[If a man] has had a "wrong" dream, he shall (in the morning) without(?) breakfast
tell the dream [to], he shall burn (it) in fire
[and the evil(?) consequences] will not impede him.

More explicit is *K.* 8171+: x + 7–14, a fragment most likely of the Dream-Book itself, which runs parallel to *KAR* 252 I: 19–27 and can be used to restore that rather damaged section:

If a man has had an evil dream during the night and is depressed,
he shall take, in the early morning[213] when he gets up (but) before he has set his foot on the floor,
the "thorn"[214] from the northern side of a date palm, make a (new) wick
of combed wool, steep (it) in oil and light a lamp. To the lamp he shall say as follows:
"Gibil (i.e., Fire-god)! glowing, strong lord! companion of Shamash, ki[ng],
you are great, overpowering among the gods, your brothers!
All my dreams which [I do not know]
but you know, (which) I have seen [ ]."

The text is here too much shortened to be fully intelligible. The parallel in *KAR* 252 I: 19–27 is fortunately preserved in the essential passage. After describing with minute care the preparation of a new wick for the "sacred" fire, i.e., the fire which can be addressed as a divine manifestation of the Fire-god Gibil (*KAR* 252 I: 21–22),[215] the text has:

[ ] he shall light the fire, the dream

[211] Restored after the parallel passage *KAR* 252 III: 8 and 10 which contains the Sumerian version with an interlinear Akkadian translation, lines III: 4–15 corresponding to II: 73–77.

[212] The ritual tablets use normally MÁŠ.GE$_6$ for "dream," but MA.MÚ is attested in 79-7-8, 99: 26 (MA.MÚ ḪUL) and 28 (MA.MÚ *šu-a-ti*).

[213] The early (i.e., most likely: immediate) rising after dreams is also prescribed in the Babylonian Talmud (*Berakoth* 56*b*).

[214] *Cf.* above note 118 for this part of the date-palm.

[215] *Cf.* above p. 298 for the "lamp" of Nusku. Instead of *nu-ra ta-qad* of *K.* 8171+: x + 10, *KAR* 252 I: 22 seems to have *i-šá-tu i-šá-ka-an.* Note also the idiomatic wording in *KAR* 252 I: 20 [*ina še-ri ḫ*]*a-ar-bi* KÁ *ú-ka-al-lu-šú* "early in the morning (when) the door (still) holds him (i.e., before he has set foot outside of the house)."

[he has had] he shall recite (*manû*) over the "thorn" and
[say as follows: "Gibil] . . . mighty, strong,
[who makes potent exor]cistic rituals, all the evil sign(s) . . ."

(two lines damaged and obscure)

A revealing variant is contained in the fragment 79-7-8, 77 (Babylonian script) rev. 19–21:

If a man had a bad dream and is depressed, he shall tell (*pašāru*) (it) to a *tarîtu* of reed,[216]
burn it in fire, he shall himself blow the fire and he will be relieved.
Ditto: in the morning he shall anoint his hand with perfumed oil and he will be relieved.

Here the dream-content is likewise transferred by *pašāru*, but again—in addition to this—the miasma is removed from the person of the dreamer by his blowing (*ina pîšu inappaḫ*) the fire which consumes both, his pollution and the dream itself.

A unique variation of the *pašāru*-technique is to be found at the end of the same fragment 79-7-8, 77 (rev. 22–24 and also right edge) which addresses itself to the priest:

Ditto (i.e., If a man had an evil dream and is depressed): you shall make (lit.: roll) seven small balls of clay, he shall tell (to them) seven times the dream(s) he has had;
you shall scatter (the balls) on a crossroad; before Shamash he shall say:
"May the dream I had go to a place of . . .!" seven times he shall say (this) and he will be relieved.

The next section, written on the edge of the tablet, seems to be of exactly the same type, using fourteen *kupatinnu*'s (i.e., small balls) instead of the seven.

Such balls or pills[217] are, as a rule, used only in Mesopotamian medicine. Prepared from a variety of ingredients (flour, powders of all sorts), they are to be swallowed by the patient, used as a suppository to relieve intestinal troubles, etc. Their number is always either seven or fourteen, and pertinent conjurations have to be repeated as many times as there are pills (*êma kupatinnū šipta tamannû*, *Thompson AMT* 45, 5:5 f.) The use of these pills for purely magic purposes—as attested in the present ritual against evil dreams—is extremely rare. In fact, we know of only one parallel. The text *KAR* 134 contains a ritual against a disease caused by "the hand of a ghost" that has hit the patient (obv. 20); the "physician" is to clip the fingernails of the sick person, to enclose them in such clay balls and to throw them into a well or river.[218] With this part of the body of the patient,[219] the source of his discomfort was apparently considered removed. Exactly as in our dream-ritual the pill of clay is used there as a carrier, but instead of holding the actual clippings, the *kupatinnu* of our ritual "carries" the dream-contents which have been transferred to it by means of the *pašāru*, the telling of the dream.

Here we should perhaps mention a short but atypical dream-ritual preserved on *K.* 3333: x + 4–6 and (partly broken) on *KAR* 252 III: 18–19:

If (a man) had a dream (and) cannot remember (it) or the dream is . . .[220]
he shall throw seven grains of the PI.TA.PI.PI-plant[221] into fire and
place (the plant itself) upon his forehead and he will be fine.

The forgetting of dreams was a source of apprehension for the Mesopotamians (*cf.* note 229 for another reference) because the evil consequences of an untoward dream were considered effective whether the dreamer happened to remember the experience or not. The same attitude is attested in the Babylonian Talmud; *cf.* the passage quoted above p. 299.

We turn now to the magic measures listed on *KAR* 252 which dispense with the use of any apparatus.[222]

[216] The word *tarîtu* appears in *Ḫ.-ḫ.* VIII 143 GI.BAR.RA = *ta-ri-tum*, in the series á-A I_6 331 as a designation of a sprout or other excrescence of a reed and again in *Ḫ.-ḫ.* III: 397 as referring to a similar feature of a date-palm: GIŠ.BAR.DA GIŠIMAR = *ta-ri-tu*. The commentary to the latter passage (series ḪAR.GUD A I: 29) explains *ta-ri-tum* as *mar-ti up-pi* "daughter of the basis of the leaf." The omen *CT XLI* 16: 6–7 illustrates this last passage: "If a date-palm has (ŠUB-*at*) *ta-ra-a-ti* on its top/in the middle (of its trunk)."

[217] For *kupatinnu*, *cf.* G. Meier in *Orientalia* NS 8: 301; *cf.* also R. Labat, *RA* 40: 120 f.

[218] As third locality the *burṣimdu* of a door is mentioned in this context. Consequently this word must denote the box beneath the pivot of a door. For *burṣimtu* in *Ḫ.-ḫ.* V: 256, *cf.* the Sumerogram GIŠ.KU.GÁL.

[219] The magic practices making use of the clippings of the fingernails of an enemy as well as their countermeasures cannot be discussed here. The present passage illustrates the concept of the fingernail as personality-symbol which is attested in legal as well as ritual practices. For the latter *cf.* simply *Zimmern Beiträge* 111 note *b*; for the former *San Nicolò Beiträge* 140 f.

[220] One sign partly broken off.

[221] There are a number of plants with names in which the element PI.PI recurs in combination with various other elements; *cf.* simply *Thompson DAB* index p. 374. No identification can be proposed.

[222] A long and partly damaged section of *KAR* 252, II: 24–57, is dedicated to a complex ritual which utilizes for ritual purposes an object called *kušāru*. The pertinent passages of *KAR* 252 are II: 28 *ana* IGI *ku-šá-ri* [ ]-*ma ki-a-am* DUG_4.GA. We find the same word in *Lamaštu* III iii: 23 (*ZA* 16: 178) *it-ti* GIŠ. ŠINIG *a-bir u ku-ša-ri e-di r*[*u-kus-si*] and in the unpublished Nippur version of the series LÚ-*ša* (A 194) which (according to Dr. Landsberger) has the equation lú.še.dúb.dúb.bu = *mu-pa-ḫi-ir ku-ša-r*[*i*]. The meaning "stick, staff" or the like seems rather likely, especially since the ritual of *KAR* 252 is primarily concerned with the giš.ma.nu. The ritual begins with a conjuration to the Sun-god (II: 29–37):

Utu, preeminent among the gods, Utu, shining . . .
Utu, king of heaven and earth, king of the Anunnaki,
Utu, mighty hero, king of the Igigi,

There is first *KAR* 252 II: 19–23, an apotropaic ritual designed to ward off evil dreams. It makes use of the *abracadabra*-type of formulae, i.e., senseless but rhythmically organized short phrases which may or may not go back to misunderstood Sumerian spells or even to other languages.

KAR 252 II: 19–23[223]

ḫubba ḫubba, abni arâ erâ
ušrugu(?) ušlulu—(Final) magic formula of the conjuration (to be pronounced here).
(Title:) A prayer not to have a confused dream.
Ritual for it: you shall make four male and female NA (human figurines?) of clay; seven times
you shall recite the conjuration over (them) and place (them) on your head.

A number of short prescriptions are assembled in the lines III: 61–IV: 4, all apotropaic in their nature and dealing with a variety of stones, plants, etc., which were to be carried in small leather bags[224] as charms and were supposed to protect their wearer against evil dreams. Here is a representative example:

KAR 252 III: 61–63

If a man has confused dreams (and) his dreams are (always predicting) evil for him;
that their evil (consequences) should be removed and not affect the man: seeds of the KIL-plant, the "mountain" plant,
the "white" plant (and) *emesallu*-salt (should be carried) in a leather(bag).

The subsequent passages (III: 64–66, III: 67–68, IV: 1–2, IV: 3, IV: 4, IV: 15–16, IV: 17–18, IV: 19–20) are all in the same vein. There we find such minerals as KA.GI.NA, "sea-tooth," *abašmu*, sulfur and alum, metals (iron, silver, gold, most likely in beads), sherds of ostrich eggs (III: 67), a "green frog of [ ]" (III: 67), plants called "dog-tooth," *elikulla*, etc.

In the next section are enumerated beads for a charm in the form of a necklace:

KAR 252 IV: 5–7

(Beads of) jasper, *saḫḫû*-stone,[225] of UR-stone, of diorite(?),
of KUR.NU.DIB.BA-stone, of "male copper" stone you shall string on a linen thread
. . .[226] stone-(bead)s to change confused dreams into good (ones).

This is followed by a rather strange invocation of the Dream-god to be recited over a "bandage" (ME.UGA[227]) or a "phylactery(?)" (*takṣiru*[228]) worn around the neck of a person fearing evil dreams.

KAR 252 IV: 8–14

[Conjuration:] Evil[doer], cut-throat, leader of the dark powers,
. . . full of (lit.: covered with) foolishness,
leader of hidden evil—day and night—
Z a g . g a r . r a (i.e., God of Dreams), turn the evil you have done into blessing,
[goddess . . .] turn whatever you have done into blessing!
[Be grac]ious, Shamash, may he make favorable the [ ], be gracious, Marduk!
This [conjuration(?)] you/he shall recite over a *takṣiru* and he shall place (it) around his neck.

The threatening tenor of this invocation is quite unique in cuneiform literature; the breaks of the text rob us, unfortunately, of the name of the goddess associated with the Dream-god.

This brings to a close our presentation of the "dream-rituals" embodied in the Assur tablet *KAR* 252.[229] The list in footnote 232 will show that we

---

Utu, the g i š . m a . n u, the mighty weapon of the gods may shine before you!
My personal god may stand at my right,
my personal goddess may stand at my left,
heaven and earth may stand before you:
the gods may establish the "nature" (i.e., the essential qualities) of the g i š . m a . n u!

The next conjuration (II: 39–47) addresses all the great gods by name to compel them to "determine the nature" of the ritual tool, i.e., to enhance its innate and characteristic power and efficiency. Then a short ritual is performed (II: 48–50, partly damaged) and the g i š . m a . n u is addressed (II: 51–55):

g i š . m a . n u, mighty weapon of the gods,
spread your sweet shade!
My personal god at my right,
my personal goddess at my left,
be gracious, render the decision!

After this, the "patient" is to go to sleep (KU.KUR NÁ-*ma*) and, in his dream (the text is here damaged), whatever depressed him (?) will be remedied(?).

[223] Parallels: *KAR* 252 IV: 42 and *LKA* 132: rev. 2 which have *a-ra-tu-è a-ra-ba-tu-è* while *KAR* 53: 10 has *a-ra-te-e a-ra-ba-te-e*.

[224] For this practice, *cf.* Landsberger, *ZDMG* **74**: 445.

[225] These stones which we do not care to attempt to identify, recur frequently in such texts. For the rare NA_4.UR, *cf.* however *KAR* 213 I: 30 and *Johns ADD* 993 II: 8.

[226] The beginning of this line mentions another stone: [NA_4]. NÍG.URUDU.UD perhaps as an afterthought.

[227] For this Sumerian term, *cf. Falkenstein LKTU* 5, n. 2 and G. Meier, *ZA* **45**: 215, n. 4.

[228] For *takṣīru*, *cf. KAR* 44: rev. 3, *Thompson AMT* 13, 5: 9 (of plants), 46, 1 I: 23 (of stones).

[229] *KAR* 252 III: 59–60 corresponds to *K.* 4103: x + 9–10 and deals with dreams interpreted in a dream. This passage does not fit the content of the tablet but touches upon a subject matter which is of interest. On p. 205 we have discussed an actual occurrence of a dream interpreted in a dream (*cf.* also part I §8 no. 13) and the Babylonian Talmud (*Berakoth* 55b) says that among the three kinds of dreams that are fulfilled is "a dream which is interpreted within a dream." The *K.* text has only:

If he has seen a dream within a(nother) dream and has to[ld (it)]
and it (the dream) is removed, for good and e[vil];

the Assur tablet has:

have omitted section IV: 21–37 = *LKA* 132: x + 2–10) which is concerned with the appeasement of the anger of personal gods,[230] although line 30 mentions dreams. This is likewise the case for *KAR* 252 IV: 42–47 (=*KAR* 53 I: 10–15 = *LKA* 132: rev. 1–6). The few lines IV: 38–41 (=*KAR* 53 I: 1–6 = *LKA* 132: x + 11–17) contain a short ritual which has not been dealt with because the passage describing the exact nature of the *praxis* is broken. We only know that a prayer to the Dream-god had to be recited over an object—this passage is broken—which was to be placed at the head of the bed, and that a plant called KUR.KUR was to be bound into the garment of the sleeper as a preventive measure. The short prayer runs as follows:

KAR 252 IV: 38–40[231]

My gracious god—stand [at my side],
my preeminent god—shine forth,
my friendly god—listen to me;
god Mamu of the dreams,
my god, send (lit.: create) a favorable message!

It seems appropriate to terminate this last section[232] with a translation of a small Neo-Babylonian tablet (81-2-4, 166) that has found its way into the British Museum. The eighteen lines of this document reveal the existence—in Babylonia—of a special type of dream-ritual which is concerned with specific dream-contents. We know from the Babylonian Talmud that the saying of certain prayers was the proper reaction to specific dreams, and our tablet seems to attest this practice.

[If upon a man either] in a dream or [in a waking vision]
[somebody,] whether known (to him) [or unknown] has thrown [dust and he has become depressed(?)] and the god [did not accept] his prayer:

Ritual for this: [you (the priest) shall place] one reed-[altar] in front of Shamash,
you shall sacrifice [a lamb], offer the sho[ulder, the loin and]
the "roast(ed parts)" [ ],
(scatter) e š a -flour, [serve] *mirsu*-porridge, honey [ ],
place a censer (and) juniper(?)-incense, [libate] beer [and wine].
(Then) this man (the patient) shall perform the ritual "Cleaning-of-the-mouth,"

take his stand before Shamash and say as follows:
Conjuration: Shamash, su[preme] judge, you are
lord of heaven and earth,
lord of what is above and below,
light of the Igigi [and the Anunnaki],
the one who makes the decisions concerning [the great] god[s],
I, [so-and-so, son of so-and-so,]

If he has seen a dream within a(nother) dream and told (it): *am*(?)-*mar* SA_6 x y z
for good and evil it does not [matt]er ([GÁ]L).

By combining the two damaged passages, one comes to the conclusion that the reporting (*pašāru*) of a dream which occurs in a dream "dissolves" the (original) dream (*šuttu pašrat* in *K.* 4103: x + 10). It then does not matter whether the first dream predicted good or bad events or was in itself bad. The three broken signs at the end of the line *KAR* 252 III: 59 must have been: [*x* BÚR-*a*]*ṭ*, but the meaning of the damaged signs (*a*[*m*](?)-*mar* SA_6) remains obscure.

[230] *Cf.* line IV: 28 (=*LKA* 132: x + 7), "What have I done, my god; what sin did I commit, my goddess?," (also line 31) and line 36 UGU.MU *šab*-[*su-ti su*]-*ḫi-ra pa-ni-ka*. In line IV: 44 we read expressly "[A prayer] to appease the wrath of the (personal) goddess." Also in *KAR* 53 dream-rituals and those destined for the purpose just mentioned are intermingled, *cf. KAR* 53: 12 (this line is omitted on *LKA* 132), "A prayer that the wrath of the (personal) goddess should not affect the man." (*LKA* 132: rev. 7 ff. remains obscure.)

Obviously, the malaise released by an evil dream and that caused by that specific psychological situation which the Mesopotamians chose to interpret as the consequence of the anger of one's "personal gods," have been felt either as identical experiences or also as being in a direct causal connection.

[231] Parallel: *KAR* 53: 1–5 with the variant t u . u d . d a for ù . m a u d . d a, *LKA* 132: x + 11–15. The pertinent ritual is more explicit in *KAR* 53: 7–9:

Ritual for it: Three times you shall recite the conjuration over the m a . n u -wood
and you shall place it at the head of your bed (NÁ omitted in *KAR* 53), a KUR.KUR-plant you shall bind in the hem of your (garment);
you shall lie down and you will have a pleasant dream.

[232] Index to the translations of *KAR* 252:

I: 1–6	damaged
I: 7–12	p. 300
I: 13–15	p. 303
I: 16–18	damaged
I: 19–27	p. 303 f.
I: 28–50	note 196
I: 51–78	p. 302 f.
I: 79–II: 18	p. 302
II: 19–23	p. 305
II: 24–57	note 222
II: 58–III: 3	p. 300
III: 4–17	p. 300
III: 18–19	p. 304
III: 20–38	p. 301
III: 39–46	p. 302
III: 47–51	p. 300
III: 52–58	p. 301
III: 59–60	note 229
III: 61–63	p. 305
III: 64–66	p. 305
III: 67–68	p. 305
IV: 1–4	p. 305
IV: 5–7	p. 305
IV: 8–14	p. 305
IV: 15–16	p. 305
IV: 17–18	p. 305
IV: 19–20	p. 305
IV: 21–30	omitted
IV: 31–37	omitted
IV: 38–41 (=*LKA* 132: 11–17)	p. 306
IV: 42–44	omitted
IV: 45–47	omitted

(your) servant, a worshipper of your [great] godhead,
I am approaching you, mer[ciful] Shamash:
the dust which in a dream or in [a waking vision]
was thrown upon me—be it [by a friend],
or a companion or a comrade
or somebody known (to me) or unknown or [ ]
who has thrown dust upon me or [in his] h[ands]
has carried (it) or in his mouth [has]:
. . . in front of your great godhead
over his effigy I wash myself with water!
(This) tamarisk may purify me, (this) Dilbat-plant may a[bsolve me],
(this) 'white' plant may give me life (again), may [my face] shi[ne (again)]
. . . [and I shall sing] your praise!
[Thus he shall spe]ak and prostrate himself be[fore Shamash;]
he shall make of clay [a male and a] female effigy
and shall wash himself over (it) and
the god will (again) [accept] his prayer.

Obviously in the background of this text is the superstitious belief that evil magic could be directed against a person by throwing dust or earth against him, or perhaps only in his direction. Whether or not this act was accompanied by appropriate words we cannot tell. The practice, however, seems to have been rather popular, as our ritual suggests. Still there exists no other textual evidence concerning the evil magic of throwing dust against persons, although the cuneiform literature provides us with a wealth of information concerning magic practices and their counter-measures. It is quite possible that this specific technique was known only in Babylonia from where our tablet comes, while the mentioned information is mostly contained in Assyrian texts. But it is likewise possible that the throwing of dust was characteristic for certain social strata and not "acceptable" at the time when the literary series dealing with witchcraft were collected and edited.

Although, in terms of modern dream-psychology, the dreaming of dust being thrown against oneself, is clearly caused by the apprehensions of the person, it is to be considered, in terms of the Mesopotamian etiology of the dream, as a case of clairvoyance on the dream level (*cf.* for this type of dream above p. 196). The dreaming person sees in his dream or waking vision—unimpeded by the barriers of time and space—that somebody is actually, and at this moment, throwing dust upon him causing him to be polluted not in a subjective but in such an objective way that even his own god refuses to accept his prayers. This is not only an instance illustrating the belief in the objectivity of the dream-content (as discussed above p. 205), inasmuch as the dreamt magic act is considered as effective as one actually performed, but likewise a fortunate case of the discovery of a malevolent magic act by means of a dream-experience of a special kind.

The *praxis* used to remove the contamination is rather obvious: the "patient" pours water over himself, not only to clean his body but much more to direct the magic dust from his person to the effigy of the evil-doer, thus inflicting all the evil the dust had imparted to him upon his enemy. The offered sacrifices are meant to induce the Sun-god, the judge who uses dreams to announce his decisions, to lend authority and power to the counter-magic which his worshipper is about to perform.

5. TRANSLITERATION OF THE ASSYRIAN DREAM-BOOK

I. OMEN TABLETS

Tablet II

K. 12638 (*cf.* pl. IV, VI). See p. 262 for translation.

Obverse

DIŠ NA *ina* [MÂŠ.GE$_6$-*šú ana*]
DIŠ *ana* [ ]
DIŠ *ana* [ ]
DIŠ *ana* [ ]
5 DIŠ *ana* [ ]
DIŠ *ana* [ ]
DIŠ *ana x* [ ]
DIŠ *ana* U[R.ZÎR/MAḪ]
DIŠ *ana* UR.[MAḪ/ZÎR]

break

Reverse

break

[DIŠ]
DIŠ UBUR [ ]

DIŠ MAN GÚ(?) UB ŠID [ ]

DIŠ NA *ina* MÁŠ.GE$_6$-*šú* GI[Š.IG DÙ-*uš*]
x+5 DUB.2.KAM.MA [ ]
KUR ^{md}[ ]

Tablet III

Obverse columns i, ii; reverse column ii: *K.* 3941 + 4017 (*cf.* pl. I). See pp. 263–264 for translation.

Obverse column i

1 DIŠ NA *ina* MÁŠ.GE$_6$-*šú* GIŠ.IG DÙ-*uš*
mu-kil SAG SAL.ḪUL SI.SÁ
DIŠ NA GIŠ.GU.ZA DÙ-*uš mu-kil* SAG SAL.ḪUL SI.SÁ
DIŠ GIŠ.NÁ DÙ-*uš mu-kil* SAG SAL.ḪUL SI.SÁ
5 DIŠ GIŠ.BANŠUR DÙ-*uš mu-kil* SAG SAL.ḪUL SI.SÁ
DIŠ GIŠ.ŠÚ.A DÙ-*uš mu-kil* SAG SAL.ḪUL SI.SÁ
DIŠ GIŠ.MÁ DÙ-*uš mu-kil* SAG SAL.ḪUL SI.SÁ
DIŠ GE$_6$.GIN.GIN-*tam* DÙ-*uš* DINGIR-*šú ú-ḫa-ma-su*
DIŠ LÚ.AŠGAB-*ta* DÙ-*uš* NÍG.TUK *i-lap-pi-in*
10 DIŠ NU LÚ *x* AŠGAB-*ta* DÙ-*uš* ^{d}UTU KA+ŠU
UGU-*šú* TUK-*ši*
DIŠ BUR.GUL-*tam* DÙ-*uš* DUMU-*šú* BA.UG$_6$
DIŠ *áš-la-ku-tam* DÙ-*uš a-na* MAŠ.EN.DÙ
ḪUL-*šú* TAG$_4$-*šú*
15 DIŠ NAGAR-*tam* DÙ-*uš di-li-iḫ lìb-bi*
im-ṭú-ú GAR-*šú*
[DIŠ MÁ].DU.DU-*tam* DÙ-*uš* ^{d}EN.LÍL KA+ŠU
[U]GU-*šú* TUK-*ši*
[DIŠ] DÙ-*uš* AZAG.AN [*x*]
20 [ ] ŠU-*šú* NI [*x* (*y*)]
[DIŠ DÙ]-*uš ina dan-na-*[*tim* È]
[ ] *x* [ ]
break

Obverse column ii

DIŠ *ina* GIŠ.ŠÚ.A *a-š*[*i-ib*]
LUGAL *i-sà-ḫir x* [ ]
DIŠ *ina* GIŠ *pa-pa-ni a-šib na-ás-pa-a*[*n-tu*]
DIŠ *ina* GIŠ.AB.GI.NA *a-šib ina li-*[*ti-šú* GUB]
5 DIŠ *ina* GIŠ *ur-ba-te a-šib* NÍG NA.[ ]
SIG$_5$-*šú* [ ]
DIŠ *ina* KI *a-šib* DUGUD SAG.DU [TUK-*ši*]
DIŠ *ina mu-li-e a-šib* [ ]
DIŠ *ina muš-pa-li a-šib* [ ]
10 SUḪUŠ *x*[ ]
DIŠ *ina* AMBAR *a-šib* [ ]
DIŠ *ina* UKKIN *a-šib* [ ]
DIŠ *ina ri-b*[*it* URU-*šú a-šib*]
S[IG$_5$(?)]
15 DIŠ *ina* [ ]
S[IG$_5$(?)]
DIŠ *i*[*na*]
break

Reverse column ii

break
DIŠ GIŠ.[APIN DAB-*ma* ŠE-*am* U]RU$_4$ [ ]
DIŠ GIŠ.APIN DAB-*ma* ŠE-*am* NU U[RU$_4$]
DIŠ GIŠ.APIN DAB-*ma* ŠE-*am* URU$_4$-[*ma*(?)]
DIŠ *ina* GIŠ.APIN KI URU$_4$-*eš di-*[*il-ḫu*]

x+5 DIŠ *ina* GIŠ.APIN-*šú ina* ŠAG$_4$ URU URU$_4$-*eš a-x-*[ ]
DIŠ *ina* ŠAG$_4$ URU SUM.SAR SUM.[SIK]IL.[SAR]
NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA.MEŠ [ ]

DIŠ NA *ina* MÁŠ.GE$_6$-*šú* KUG.BABBAR *la-biš*
DUB.3.KA[M.MA É]Š.K[ÀR ^{d}*Z*]*i-*[*qi*]*-q*[*u*]
KUR ^{m}[ ]
MAN [ ]

Tablet IV

K. 14216 (*cf.* pl. IV). See p. 264 and note 12 for translation.

break

DIŠ NA *ina* [MÁŠ.GE$_6$-*šú*]
DUB 4.KA[M.MA]
É.GAL ^{md}[ ]
ša ^{d}AG *u* ^{d}[ ]
x+5 *e-ḫu-uz-zu*
[ ] LUGAL.MEŠ [ ]

break

Tablet VII

Obverse column i, reverse columns i and ii: *K.* 6267 (*cf.* pl. IV). See pp. 266 (obverse), 265–266 (reverse) for translation.
Reverse column ii: *K.* 3980 + 6399 (*cf.* pl. IV). See pp. 265 f. for translation.

Obverse column i—on *K.* 6267

break

[DIŠ *-rab*] LÚ.NE DÙ-*uš*
[DIŠ *-ra*]*b* LÚ.NE DÙ-*uš*
[DIŠ]*-rab* LÚ.NE DÙ-*uš*
[DIŠ *-ra*]*b* LÚ.NE DÙ-*uš*
x+5 [DIŠ *-ra*]*b* LÚ.NE DÙ-*uš*

[DIŠ] MI-*ši*
ú-n]*ak-kas*
] GIG
ú-mar]*-raq*
x+10] KÚ
ú-mar]*-raq*
Z]I.MEŠ-*šú*
i/ú-ga]*-za-az*
] NAG
x+15 *i/ú-ga*]*-za-az*
]*x* KÚ

[DIŠ] *tam-ṭa-a-tum*
[ ] *it-ku-lu* UZU.BI NU.DÙG
[DIŠ *ma*]*-a*^{2}*-da* KÚ NINDA *mat-qa* KÚ
x+20 [ ] *it-ku-lu*
[DIŠ ZÍ]D.ŠE [ ]
[ ]GIG[ ]

break

Reverse column i—on *K.* 6267

break

UD.MEŠ-*šú* [ ]

DIŠ KÀŠ-*šú ina* IGI UŠ-*š*[*ú*]
GIŠ.ZI [ ]
x+5 DUMU.MEŠ [(NU) TUK-*ši*]
DIŠ KÀŠ-*šú ina* IGI UŠ *i*-[*tal-ka-ma*]
GIŠ.ZI SILA [ ]
DUMU.MEŠ TUK-[*ši*]
DIŠ KÀŠ-*šú ina* IGI UŠ-*šú i-tal*-[*ka-ma*]
x+10 *su-qá-a-tu* S[I.]
NÍG.GA-*šú i-ḫab-ba*-[*tu*]
ana URU SUM-*n*[*u*]
DIŠ KÀŠ-*šú ina* IGI UŠ-*šú i-tal-ka-ma*
ina IGI KÀŠ-*šú uš-kin*
x+15 DUMU Ù.TU-*ma*
NAM.LUGAL.LA DÙ-*uš*
DIŠ KÀŠ-*šú* GIŠ.ZI *iš-tin-ma ana* U[GU]
DUMU.MEŠ TU[K-*ši*]
DIŠ KÀŠ-*šú ana* UGU GI.TUR.MEŠ [ ]
x+20 DUMU.MEŠ [(NU) TUK-*ši*]
DIŠ KÀŠ-*šú* [*iš*]-*tin-ma* G[IG(?)]
GAR Š[E(?)]
DIŠ KÀŠ-*šú iš*-[*ti*]*n-ma* [ ]
[ ]
x+25 DIŠ KÀŠ-*šú iš*-[*tin*]
[ ]
DIŠ KÀŠ-*šú i*[*š-tin*]
[ ]
DIŠ KI.[ ]

break

Reverse column ii—on *K.* 3980 + 6399

break

DIŠ KI.MIN x y MIN DUMU.ME[Š]
DIŠ KI.MIN *lu-lim* MIN *mim-mu-šá ina-p*[*u-uš*]
DIŠ KÀŠ-*šú ina* GÌR^{2}-*šú e-d*[*ir*]
DUMU.UŠ-*šú* [UG$_6$]
x+5 DIŠ KÀŠ-*šú* ŠU^{2}-*šú im-si* NÍG.TUR.MEŠ
ma-a$^{?}$-*du-ma* KÚ
DIŠ KÀŠ-*šú ir-muk* TÙR.BI DAGAL-*eš*
DIŠ KÀŠ-*šú ir-muk-ma* NÍ-*šú im-ta-na-šá-áš*
ŠU ^{d}*Iš-tar*
x+10 DIŠ KÀŠ-*šú ana* AN-*e iz-zaq-pa* NA.BI
DUMU *šá ul-la-du* DUGUD
UD.MEŠ-*šú* GUD$_4$.DA.MEŠ
[DIŠ KÀ]Š-*šú ana* ÍD *it-buk* (sign *muk*)
[E]BUR-*šú* SI.SÁ
x+15 [DIŠ K]ÀŠ-*šú* ana TÚL *it-buk* (sign *muk*)
mim-mu-šú ḪA.A
DIŠ KÀŠ-*šú ana mi-ik-ri it-buk*
EBUR-*šú* ^{d}IM RA
DIŠ KÀŠ-*šú ana* DINGIR-*šú it*-[*buk*]
x+20 *mim-mu-šú* ḪA.A [(*uttâ?*)]
DIŠ KÀŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA NAG *mi-šá*-[ ]
DIŠ KÀŠ ANŠE NAG DIRI *ú*-[ ]
DIŠ KÀŠ GUD NAG LAL.DU [ ]
DIŠ KÀŠ UR.ZÍR NAG [ ]
x+25 DIŠ KÀŠ ŠAḪ N[AG]
DIŠ KÀŠ *x* [ ]
DIŠ K[ÀŠ]

break

continued on *K.* 6267

break

[DIŠ] *ina a-šá-bi-šú* KÀŠ.[*x y*]-*šú x ra y ni-z*[*iq-tum*]
DIŠ *ina* KÀŠ-*šú* NÍ-*šú is-luḫ*
šá iq-bu-u i-maš-ši
DIŠ KÀŠ DAM-*šú* NAG NA.BI *ṭuḫ-du* KÚ

---

y+5 DIŠ NA *ina* MÀŠ.GE$_6$-*šú* ^{d}EN.LÍL IGI AB.BA-*ta* GÍD.DA
DUB.7.KAM ÉŠ.KÀR ^{d}*Zi-qi-qu*
É.GAL ^{m}AN.SÂR.DÙ.A
[MAN] ŠÚ MAN KUR AN.SÂR^{ki}

Tablet IX

Obverse columns i, ii; reverse, columns i, ii: *K.* 2582 + 3820 + 6739 (*cf.* pl. VI). See pp. 267–269, for translation.
Obverse columns i, ii: *K.* 9197 (*cf.* pl. IV). See pp. 267–268 for translation.
Obverse columns i, ii: *Sm* 29 + 79-7-8, 94 (*cf.* pl. V). See pp. 267–268 for translation.
Reverse column ii: *Sm* 251 joining *K.* 2582 + 3820 + 6739 (*cf.* pl. VI). See pp. 268, 269 for translation.

Obverse column i—on *K.* 2582 etc.

DIŠ NA *ina* MÁŠ.GE$_6$-*šú* KÁ.GAL URU-*šú* TU KI IGI.MEŠ-*šú* GAR-*n*[*u* ÁŠ-*su* KUR]
DIŠ KÁ.GAL URU È KI IGI-*šú* GAR-*nu* ÁŠ-*s*[*u* KUR]
DIŠ *ana* AN-*e* E_{11} UD.MEŠ-*šú* GUD$_4$.MEŠ
DIŠ *ana* KI-*tim* E_{11} UD.MEŠ-*šú* GÍD.MEŠ
5 DIŠ *ana* KUR.NU.GI$_4$.[A E_{11} UD.ME]Š-*šú* GÍD.MEŠ
DIŠ *ana* R[A] *ši i ma x*
DIŠ *ana* É.[ ]
DIŠ *ana* É.[ ]
[ ]
10 [ ]

DIŠ *ana* É [ ]
DIŠ *ana* É [ ]

break

continued on *K.* 9197

break

[DIŠ *ana* É ^{d}NN GIN *bu*]-*su-rat ḫa-di-e*
[DIŠ *ana* É ^{d}NN G]IN *su-pi-e-šú* ŠE.GA
DIŠ *ana* É ^{d}UR.SAG GIN *ina* NÍG.GIG È
DIŠ *ana* É ^{d}IMIN.BI GIN *i-šal-lim*

---

x+5 DIŠ *ana* EN.LÍL^{ki} GIN *i-dir-ti* UD-*me* SILIM MU.I.KAM
DIŠ *ana* DIN.TIR^{ki} GIN *ta*-[*ni-iḫ-tu*] UD-*me* SILIM MU.I.KAM
[DIŠ *ana* DIN].TIR[^{ki} GIN-*m*]*a* [É.SAG].ÍL TU-*ub*

break

continued on *Sm* 29 + 79-7-8, 94

break

[DIŠ *ana* URU GIN] KI.KAL IGI-*mar*
[DIŠ *ana*] *x y* [^{ki}] G[IN] É NIR.GÁL DÙ-*uš*
[DIŠ *ana*] ^{d}ÍD^{ki} GIN [AB.BA]-*ta* GÍD.DA
NÍG.GA-*šú* DAGAL-*eš*
y+5 [DIŠ] *ana* ^{d}ÍD-*ma*^{ki} GIN ^{d}ÍD *iš-la-a*
[É] NIR.GÁL DÙ-*uš* UD.MEŠ-*šú* GÍD.MEŠ
[DIŠ *ana*] BÀD^{ki}-^{d}AMA[R.UD.T]I.LA GIN UGU EN INIM-*šú* GUB-*za*
[DIŠ *ana*] G i r . s u^{ki} GIN ŠAG$_4$.ḪÚL *la da-ṣa-a-tum*
[DIŠ *ana*] ŠIR.BUR.<LA>^{ki} GIN *iḫ-ḫab-bat*

y+10 [DIŠ *ana*] GI.IN.SAG.6^{ki} GIN *ina* KI.ŠÚ *ik-kal-la*

edge

Obverse column ii—on *K.* 6739

[DIŠ *ana*]
[DIŠ *ana*]
DIŠ *ana x* [ ]
DIŠ *ana* KAR$^{sar\text{-}ra\text{-}ar}$KI GI[N]
5 [ ]

break

continued on *K.* 9197

break

DIŠ *ana* [ ]
DIŠ *ana Bu-b*[*i*^{ki} GIN]
DIŠ *ana Lu-ḫa-at*^{ki} GIN [ ]
DIŠ *ana Ḫa-ba-á*[*r*^{ki} GIN [ ]
x+5 DIŠ *ana Ra-pi-q*[*um*^{ki} GIN]
DIŠ *ana Ḫal-la-b*[*a*^{ki} GIN]
DIŠ *ana Ki-eš-x*[ ]
DIŠ *ana Qa-ta-an*^{ki}[GIN]
DIŠ *ana Ḫa-sur*^{ki} [GIN]
x+10 DIŠ *ana* [ ]

break

continued on *Sm* 29 + 79-7-8, 94

break

[DIŠ *ana* ^{ki}] GIN *e-piš* K[A]
[DIŠ *ana*]^{ki} GIN SILIM MU.I.KAM *ina* PAP.ḪAL URU-*šú* KAR-*ir*
[DIŠ *ana*]^{ki} GIN KI.KAL *pa-šuq-tam* IGI-*mar*
[DIŠ *ana*]^{ki} GIN *tam-ṭa-a-tum*
y+5 [DIŠ *ana*]^{ki} GIN *ár-num* AD-*šú* DAB-*su*
DIŠ *ana x-ḫa-a*^{ki} GIN *i-gi-ši-ir*
DIŠ *ana Iš-la-an*^{ki} GIN *šib-sa-at* DINGIR
DIŠ *ana Ka-la-ti*(!) GIN *ina la šu-a-tum* MU-*ár*
DIŠ *ana Pa-ar-sa*^{ki} GIN *ina* ÚS.SA.DU DINGIR ŠUB-*ut*
y+10 DIŠ *ana La-ba-an*^{ki} GIN É DÙ-*u*[*š*]
DIŠ *ana* UD.KUŠU$_2$$^{Ú\text{-}pi\text{-}e\ ki}$ GIN TÙR-*su* BIR
DIŠ *ana La-ba-an*^{ki} GIN MU GAL-*a* GAR-*a*[*n*]
DIŠ *ana Lu-úb-da*^{ki} GIN *me-si-ru* DAB-[*su*]

edge

Reverse column i—on *K.* 2582 etc.

break

DIŠ *ana x* [ ]
DIŠ *ana* KUR *Bi-x*[ ]
DIŠ *ana* KUR *Mi-iṣ-ri* [GIN]
DIŠ *ana* KUR I . l u l^{ki} [GIN]
x+5 DIŠ *ana* KUR *Ḫat-ti*^{ki} GIN [ ]
DIŠ *ana* KUR *Ḫat-ti*^{ki} GIN
u ḫat-[*tum*(?)]

DIŠ *ana* ^{d}UTU.È GIN [ ]
DIŠ *ana* ^{d}UTU.ŠÚ.A GIN [ ]

---

x+10 DIŠ *ana* É *ki-sit-ti-šu* [GIN]
DIŠ *ana* É.ÉŠ.DAM [GIN]
DIŠ *ana* É *x*[ ]
DIŠ *ana* [ ]

break

Reverse column ii—on *K.* 2582 etc.

break

DIŠ *ana* É LÚ.*x* [ ]
DIŠ *ana* É LÚ.NU.GIŠ.SA[R GIN]
DIŠ *ana* É LÚ *sa-bi-e* GI[N]
DIŠ *ana* É LÚ MÁ.LAḪ$_4$ *a-na zi-*[ ]
x+5 DIŠ *ana* É LÚ.ENGAR GIN DUG$_4$.GA *x*[ ]
DIŠ *ana* É LÚ *ḫa-di-e* GIN *i-dir-ti* UD.ME [IGI-*mar*]

DIŠ *ana* GIŠ.SAR GIN *uš-šur-šu i-qab-bi*
DIŠ *ana mu-sa-ri-e* GIN *ma-na-aḫ-ta-šú i-lam-man*
ina KI.KAL *uṣ-ṣa*
x+10 DIŠ *ana ab-ri na-pa-ḫi* GIN *i-dir-ti* UD-*me* IGI-*mar*
DIŠ *ana* A.ŠAG$_4$ *e-ri-ši* GIN *ina* KI.KAL È
DIŠ *ana ba-ar* EDIN GIN *i-ad-di*[*r*]
DIŠ *ana su-pur* GUD.MEŠ GIN *šu-zu-ub* DINGIR *id-du-š*[*ú*]
DIŠ *ana su-pur* UDU.MEŠ GIN NAM.SAG.DU GIN-[*ak*]
x+15 DIŠ *ana su-pur* ÙZ.MEŠ GIN ARḪUŠ DINGIR *id-du-*[*šú*]
DIŠ *ana* GI.AMBAR GIN GI.MEŠ *iḫ-su-up-ma ir-ku-u*[*s*]
ina GIG *dan-nim* [È(?)]

DIŠ *ana* KUR GEŠTIN GIN ŠE.GIŠ.Ì SÍG.ḪI.A [ ]
DIŠ *ana tam-di* GIN *šá ana* ḪA.A [ ]
x+20 *šá ú-sa-ap-pi-ḫu* NIGIN-[*ar*]
DIŠ *ana Id/Á-ra-an*^{ki} GIN *a-ra-an-šú* GA[B]
DIŠ *ana Ia-mut-ba-li*^{ki} GIN ŠAG$_4$.ḪUL IGI-*mar*
DIŠ *ana Tup-li-ia-áš*^{ki} GIN *nap-šur* DINGIR GÁL

DIŠ *ana* XV *ṣa-lil-ma* MÁŠ.GE$_6$ *iṭ-ṭul par-da-at*
DUB 9.KAM ÉŠ.KAR ^{d}*Zi-qí-qu*
KUR ^{m}AN.SÁR.DÙ.A
MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AN.SÁR^{ki}

Babylon 36383 (Grabungsphoto 1540). *Cf.* pl. V. See pp. 259, 268 for discussion.

[DIŠ LÚ] *ina* MÁŠ.GE$_6$-*šu* KÁ.GAL URU-*šu* È [*a-šar* IGI-*šu* GAR-*nu* ÁŠ-*sú* (NU) KUR]
KÁ.GAL TU *a-šar* IGI-*šu* GAR-*nu* [ÁŠ-*sú* (NU) KUR]
[DIŠ *x y*]-*ba-a-*[*t*]*i*(*?*) ^{ki} GIN *x-di-ru i-*[ ]
[DIŠ *L*]*u-ḫa-ia-at* ^{ki} GIN ÁŠ.BAL *lu*(*?*) *tú x y z* [ ]
5 DIŠ UD.KIB.NUN.NA ^{ki} GIN *pa-šu-uq-ta* IGI-*mar*
DIŠ *Ki-i-la* ^{ki} GIN *a-ra-an-šu* DAB-*su*
DIŠ *Ḫa-am-ba-ri* ^{ki} GIN UD-*mi x y z -at*
DIŠ *Ra-bi-qum* ^{ki} GIN *ni x tú i-ḫab-bat*
DIŠ *Id-da-an* ^{ki} GIN [ ]-*šu a-*[*r*]*a-an-šu* [ ]
10 DIŠ *Má-rí* ^{ki} GIN *ši-ib-sat* [DINGIR]
DIŠ *E-mar* ^{ki} GIN *x y z tú* GIG *x y* [ ]
DIŠ *Ḫa-la-ba* ^{ki} GIN KI.MIN
DIŠ *Qa-ta-na* ^{ki} GIN *x y ḫu ù* [ ]
DIŠ *Ḫa-zu-ur* ^{ki} GIN [ ] *x x x x x*
15 DIŠ *Kur-da* ^{ki} GIN KI.MIN
DIŠ *Ka-ra-na-a* ^{ki} GIN KI.MIN
DIŠ *Ḫa-a*[*l-x*] ^{ki} GIN *x gi*
[DIŠ *x y š*]*u*(*?*) ^{ki} GIN GIG(*?*)
[DIŠ *x y*]-*ra-an* ^{ki} GIN *ma-mi-tim ú-qat-*[*x y*]
20 [DIŠ] ^{ki} GIN *ša ú-ḫal-li-qu i-x-y*
[DIŠ] ^{ki} GIN MU GAL GAR-*an* IGI.DU-*tú* [ ]
[DIŠ] ^{ki} GIN *a-ma-tum da-a*[*n-na-tum*(*?*)]
[DIŠ] ^{ki} GIN *ik-*[*li-ti ú-n*]*am-mar*
[DIŠ] ^{ki} GIN *ab x y ib-ba-ši-šu*

25	[DIŠ	]	ki GIN	*me x y (z) la*
	[DIŠ	]	ki GIN	*x y z ši x y*
	[DIŠ		ki GIN]	ZI.GA È I.BÍ.ZA IGI-*mar*
	[DIŠ		ki GIN]	NU KUR ÂŠ
	[DIŠ		ki GIN	*x*]+*y an ib-ba-ši-šu*
30	[DIŠ		ki GIN]	*ru šú*
	[DIŠ		ki GIN]	*id x y z an*
	[DIŠ		ki GIN]	*x y*

PROVISIONALLY ASSIGNED FRAGMENTS

Tablet A (Main Tablet)

Obverse: *K.* 6663 + 8300 (*cf.* pl. VI). See pp. 270–272 for translation.
Sm 2073 (*cf.* pl. VII).
K. 6611 (*cf.* pl. VII).
K. 2266 + 4575 (*cf.* pl. VII).

Reverse: *K.* 4570 + 7251 (*cf.* pl. VI). See pp. 272–275 for translation.
Sm 2073 + *K.* 2266 + 9919 + 12319 (*cf.* pl. VII).
K. 11841 (*cf.* pl. VII).

Obverse column i—on *K.* 6663 + 8300

break

	[DIŠ	] -*šú*
	[DIŠ	GA]B-*šú*
	[DIŠ	N]U DÙG.GA
	[DIŠ	ŠA]G$_4$.BI NU DÙG.GA
x+5	[DIŠ	] ḪUL
	[DIŠ	] ḪUL
	[DIŠ	] *iš la*
	[DIŠ	NINDA *nap*]-*šá* KÚ
	[DIŠ	ŠAG$_4$.BI] DÙG.GA
x+10	[DIŠ	ŠAG$_4$.BI (NU)] DÙG.GA
	[DIŠ	] ZI-*šú*
	[DIŠ	] DÙG.GA
	[DIŠ	*i*]-*bir-ri*
	[DIŠ	]SAL.ḪUL
x+15	[DIŠ	S]AL.ḪUL

break

Obverse column ii—on *Sm* 2073 etc.

edge

	DIŠ UZU MÁŠ ZU	K[Ú	]
	DIŠ UZU MÁŠ NUMDUN.LAL	KÚ [	]
	DIŠ UZU KA	KÚ	*ṣa-bat* ḪUL
	DIŠ UZU GAR.KI	KÚ	*ṣa-bat* ḪUL
5		*ina* IM.RI.A-*šú*	UG$_6$.UG$_6$
	DIŠ UZU GAR.KI KUR.RA	KÚ ḪUL-*šú*	GAB
	DIŠ UZU SAG.DU	KÚ ^{d}NISABA TUK-*ši*	
	DIŠ NÍG ŠAG$_4$ UZU	KÚ ŠAG$_4$.BI	DÙG.GA
	DIŠ UZU *iṭ-bu-uḫ-ma*	KÚ ŠAG$_4$.BI NU	DÙG.GA
10	[DIŠ UZU *i*]-*šid ir-ri*	KÚ ŠAG$_4$.BI	DÙG.GA
	[DIŠ UZU]*x bi*	KÚ KUR	ÂŠ
		na-za-qu ḫa-an-ṭu	
	[DIŠ UZU]*x*	KÚ ŠAG$_4$.BI NU	DÙG.GA
	[DIŠ UZU] TUR	KÚ MI-*ši* ŠAG$_4$.BI NU	DÙG.GA
15	[DIŠ UZU (*x*) A]NŠE	KÚ [K]UR [Á]Š [	]

break

continued on *K.* 6663 + 8300

break

[DIŠ] *x* BU [ ]
[DIŠ UZU] KÚ MUD ŠAG$_4$. *x*
[DIŠ UZU UR.Z]ÍR KÚ *ti-bu-um* NU KUR ÁŠ
[DIŠ UZ]U UR.KI KÚ *ti-bu-um*
x+5 [DIŠ UZ]U MÁŠ.DÙ KÚ *sa-ḫal* UZU
[DIŠ UZ]U AM KÚ UD.MEŠ-*šú* GÍD.MEŠ
[DIŠ UZ]U KA$_5$.A KÚ *si-ḫi-il* UZU
ana EN NÍG.GIG SIG$_5$
[DIŠ UZU. *x.* N]E KÚ GAB ḪUL
x+10 DIŠ UZU UGU.[DUL].BI KÚ KUR-*ti* ŠU TUK-*ši*
DIŠ UZU ZU KÚ ŠAG$_4$.BI DÙG.GA
DIŠ UZU NU ZU KÚ ŠAG$_4$.BI NU DÙG.GA
DIŠ UZU LÚ.MEŠ KÚ [N]ÍG.TUK *ma-da* TUK-*ši*
DIŠ UZU LÚ.UG$_6$ KÚ [*mim-m*]*u-š*[*ú*] *man-ma* TÙM
x+15 ŠAG$_4$-[*šú* NU] DÙG.GA
DIŠ UZU *šá-lam-ti* KÚ *mim-*[*mu-šú man-m*]*a* TÙM
ŠAG$_4$-*šu* [NU] DÙG.GA
DIŠ UZU ŠAG$_4$.MEŠ-*šú* KÚ *mar-ši-is-s*[*u*]*x*
DIŠ UZU.MEŠ-*šú* KÚ NÍG.ŠU-*šú i-*[*x y*]
x+20 *ina* NU DÙG *lìb-bi* GIN-[*ak*]
DIŠ UZU AN.TA-*šú* KÚ ḪA.LA GAL-*tum* KÚ
DIŠ UZU IGI.MEŠ-*šú* AN.TA-*šú* KÚ ḪA.LA GAL-*tum* KÚ
DIŠ UZU IGI AN.TA-*šú* KÚ ḪUL-*šú* TAR-*iṣ*
NÍG.ŠU-*šú ana* IGI-*šú* GIN
x+25 DIŠ UZU ŠU-*su* KÚ DUMU.SAL.A.NI BA.[UG$_6$]
DIŠ UZU ŠU AN.TA-*šú* KÚ *šá* NU ZU BA.[UG$_6$]
KI.ŠÚ DAB-*s*[*u*]
DIŠ UZU GÌR-*šú* KÚ DUMU.UŠ-*šú* [BA.UG$_6$]
DIŠ UZU GÌR AN.TA-*šú* KÚ *ina qir-bi-šú* [*x y*]
x+30 [DIŠ UZ]U UŠ-*šú* KÚ DUMU.NI [BA.UG$_6$]
[DIŠ UZU *x*]-*šú* KÚ DUMU *i-*[ ]
[DIŠ UZU] KÚ UZU [ ]

break

Obverse column iii—on *Sm* 2073 etc.

edge

three lines broken

DIŠ UTUL$_2$ AR.Z[A.NA KÚ]
5 DIŠ UTUL$_2$ AR.ZA.NA SIG$_5$ KÚ [ ]
DIŠ UTUL$_2$ AR.ZA.NA MÚD KÚ [ ]
DIŠ UTUL$_2$ AR.ZA.NA *mar-ri* KÚ [ ]
DIŠ UTUL$_2$ AR.ZA.NA KI.LAM SI[G$_5$ KÚ]
DIŠ UTUL$_2$ BUR$_5$.MUŠEN KÚ [ ]
10 DIŠ UTUL$_2$ ZI.BA.AḪ KÚ [ ]
DIŠ UTUL$_2$ GÚ.GAL [KÚ]
DIŠ UTUL$_2$ GÚ.TUR [KÚ]
DIŠ UTUL$_2$ GÚ.N[ÍG.ḪAR.RA KÚ]
DIŠ UT[UL$_2$ KÚ]

break

continued on *K.* 2266 + 4575

break

[DIŠ] *x y*
[DIŠ KÚ KAM]-*ti ši-gu-u*
[*š*]*ib-sat* DINGIR
[DIŠ *x y* Š]AḪ KÚ KAM-*ti ši-gu-u*
x+5 *šib-sat* DINGIR UD.BI GÍD
[DIŠ *x y* UDU.N]ITA$_2$ KÚ *mim-mu-šú* TAG$_4$-*šú*

	[DIŠ	]*x*	KÚ KAM-*ti ši-gu-u*
			šib-sat DINGIR UD.BI GÍD.MEŠ
	[DIŠ	]*x*	KÚ ḪA.LA KUR_6 TUK-*ši*
x+10			*ana* EGIR UD.ME *i-bir-ri*
	[DIŠ	]	KÚ *mim-mu-šú i-tab-bal*
	[DIŠ		K]Ú KAM-*ti ši-gu-u*
	[DIŠ		KÚ K]U *gi-na-a* MI-*ši*
	[DIŠ		KÚ] *a-ra-an-šú* GAB
x+15	[DIŠ		KÚ *x y*] KUR_6-*ta* TUK-*ši*
	[DIŠ		KÚ *x y*] KUR_6-*ta* TUK-*ši*
	[DIŠ		KÚ *x y z*] *i-man-gar*
			break
	continued on *K.* 6611		
			break
	[DIŠ		KÚ UGU(?)] EN INIM-*šu* GUB-[*az*]
	[DIŠ	]	KÚ ḪA.LA KUR_6-*ta* TUK-*ši*
	[DIŠ *x x x*].ḪA		KÚ $ŠAG_4$.BI DÙG.GA
	[DIŠ *x x*].MUŠEN		KÚ *na-ṣa-ru qa-bi-šú*
y+5			KÁ NU È
	[DIŠ U]Z.TUR.MUŠEN		KÚ NINDA *nap-šá* KÚ
	[DIŠ] KUR.GI.MUŠEN		KÚ ZI KÚR
			ù ZI ḪUL-*ti*
	DIŠ *ku-ruk-ka* MUŠEN		KÚ ZI KÚR
y+10	DIŠ Ú.NAG_2.GA.MUŠEN		KÚ *ir-bu* TU-[*ub*]
	DIŠ TU.[KU]R_4.MUŠEN		KÚ A Š[I]
	DIŠ BU[R_5(?).MUŠEN		KÚ]
			break
	Obverse column iv—on *Sm* 2073 etc.		
			break
	[DIŠ	K]Ú LIL-*a*ʾ *x*[ ]	
	[	] IGI NINDA *mat-qá* KÚ	
	[DIŠ	]KÚ *ti-bu-um ṣu-mu*	
	[DIŠ	]KÚ NINDA *mat-qá* KÚ	
x+5	[DIŠ *x*]-*la-ši*	KÚ NINDA *mat-qá* KÚ	
	DIŠ *làl-la-ra*	KÚ NINDA *mat-qá* KÚ	
	DIŠ *un-ši-na-ka*	KÚ *šib-sat* DINGIR	
	DIŠ GIŠ.MA+*gunû*	KÚ *bi-bil lìb-bi* TUK-*ši*	
	DIŠ GIŠ.MA	KÚ NINDA *mat-qá* KÚ	
x+10	DIŠ GIŠ.GEŠTIN	KÚ *ḫu-ud lìb-bi*	
		šum₄-ma ki-iṣ lìb-bi	
	DIŠ KIN.GEŠTIN	KÚ $ŠAG_4$.BI [*x y*]	
	DIŠ GIŠ.GEŠTIN.ḪÁD.A	KÚ *un-dár-r*[*a-ar*]	
	DIŠ GIŠ.ŠENNUR	KÚ *i-b*[*ir-ri*]	
x+15	DIŠ GIŠ.ÚR.ZI.NU	KÚ *ka-ba*[*r*]	
	DIŠ GIŠ.NU.ÚR.MA	KÚ NINDA [*mat-qá* KÚ]	
		i-[ ]	
	DIŠ GIŠ.NU.ÚR.MA LÀL	K[Ú]	
	DIŠ GIŠ.ÁŠ.DÙG.GA	K[Ú]	
x+20	DIŠ GIŠ.ÁŠ.DÙG.GA LÀ[L	KÚ]	
		bi-[*bil lìb-bi*]	
	DIŠ[	]	
		break	
	continued on *K.* 6611		
		break	
	DIŠ K[A(?)	KÚ]	

DIŠ LU.Ú[B.SAR KÚ]
DIŠ AN.TA[ḪA.ŠUM KÚ]
DIŠ GAN.[ZI SAR KÚ]

break

Reverse column i—on *K.* 4570 + 7251

break

DIŠ NÍG.*x* [ ]

DIŠ *ú-kul-la-a* KÚ NÍG.ḪI.A *x* [ ]
DIŠ *ú-kul-li-e* GUD KÚ *ri z*[*a*]
DIŠ *ú-kul-la-a ú-na-piš-ma* K[Ú]
x+5 DIŠ *ú-kul-la-a ú-ma-me* KÚ *ri za x* [ ]
DIŠ ŠE.IN.NU KÚ NÍG.ŠU [ ]
DIŠ *il-ta* KÚ NÍG.Š[U]
DIŠ GIŠ KÚ NÍG.[ŠU]
DIŠ GI [KÚ]

break

continued on *Sm* 2073 etc.

break

[DIŠ] KÚ SA[G.DU-*su*]
[DIŠ]*x* KÚ GAB *x y* [ ]

[DIŠ] KÚ *mim-mu-šú* DAGAL-*eš*
[DIŠ] KÚ KI.ŠÚ *u* DI NU DAB-*su*
y+5 [DIŠ S]IG$_4$.AL.ÙR.RA KÚ ŠAG$_4$.BI DÙG.GA
DIŠ IMI KÚ LÙ *is-sa-la-a*ˀ
DIŠ IMI *pa-aš-ra* KÚ *i-dal-laḫ-ma i-bir-ri*
DIŠ IMI GIM NINDA KÚ *ina* KIN-*šú* ZI-*aḫ*
DIŠ SIG$_4$ GIM NINDA KÚ LÚ.BI *ina* KI.GUB-*šú* ZI-*aḫ*

---

y+10 DIŠ SAḪAR.ḪI.A KÚ LIL-*a*ˀ DUG$_4$.DUG$_4$ *i-ma-ki*
KI BE DINGIR-*šú* GAR-*šú* MI-*ši*
DIŠ SAḪAR *tup-qin-ni* KÚ DUG$_4$.DUG$_4$ *i-ma-ki* ŠAG$_4$.BI DÙG.GA
DIŠ *saḫar-šup-pa-a* KÚ DUG$_4$.DUG$_4$ [*i-ma-ki*]
DIŠ *ba-ṣa* KÚ SAL.[ḪUL/SIG$_5$]

---

y+15 DIŠ KUŠ KÚ [ ]
[DIŠ KU]Š E.SIR KÚ [ ]
DIŠ KUŠ [KÚ]
DIŠ KUŠ [KÚ]
DIŠ KUŠ GÚ.È.[A KÚ]
y+20 DIŠ *ki-za* K[Ú]

DIŠ ŠÈ KÚ *a* [ ]
DIŠ ŠÈ-*šú* KÚ *mar-š*[*i-is-su*]
DIŠ ŠÈ AN.TA-*šú* KÚ ḪUL [ ]
mim-mu-šú ana IGI-*šú* [GIN]
y+25 NÍG.SIG$_5$ T[UK-*ši*]
e-ki-am GAR-*un*
DIŠ ŠÈ *ú-ma-me* KÚ NÍG.TUK T[UK-*ši*]

DIŠ NA GAZ-*ma* KÚ NÍG.ŠU-*šu* *i*-[*x y*]
DIŠ ŠEŠ-*šú* GAZ-*ma* KÚ *mim-mu-šú man-ma* [TÙM]
y+30 DIŠ DUMU-*šú* GAZ-*ma* KÚ *mim-mu-šu man-ma* [TÙM]
[DIŠ K]Ú *mim-mu-šú* [ ]

break of four lines to edge

Reverse column ii—on *K.* 4570 + 7251

break

	DIŠ G[URUN$_3$	KÚ]
	DIŠ GURUN$_3$ Ú.[	KÚ]
	DIŠ GURUN$_3$ Ú.[	KÚ]
	DIŠ GURUN$_3$ KUR GIŠ.[	KÚ]
x+5	DIŠ GURUN$_3$ ḪUR.SAG SAR	[KÚ]
	DIŠ GURUN$_3$ GIŠ.A.TU.GAB.LIŠ	KÚ U[GU EN INIM-*šú* GUB]
		ŠAG$_4$.BI [(NU) DÙG.GA]
	DIŠ GURUN$_3$ GIŠ.NAM.TAR	KÚ KI.[KAL]
		UGU EN INIM-*šú* KALAG.GA
x+10		*di-ki-e* KA *pi-rit-tú*
	DIŠ NUMUN GIŠ.A.TU.GAB.LIŠ	KÚ ḪUL-*šú* GAB
	DIŠ GIŠ.A.TU.GAB.LIŠ	KÚ GABA.RI
	DIŠ Ú ZU-*u*	KÚ ŠAG$_4$.BI DÙG.GA
	DIŠ Ú NU ZU	KÚ *e-rib ir-bi*
x+15	DIŠ ESIR	KÚ KI.ŠÚ DAB-*su*
		ŠAG$_4$.BI NU DÙG.GA
	DIŠ *kup-ra*	KÚ *ina-an-ziq*
	DIŠ *nap-ṭa*	KÚ ŠAG$_4$.ḪÚL.LA
	DIŠ *pi-til-ta*	KÚ KIN-*šú* ZI-*aḫ*
x+20	DIŠ *ḫi-im-ma-ta*	KÚ NINDA *nap-šá* KÚ
		ŠAG$_4$.BI DÙG.GA
	DIŠ *ḫi-im-ma-ta šá* SILA	KÚ *mim-mu-šú* DAGAL-*eš*
	DIŠ *di-ri-ta*	KÚ ŠAG$_4$.ḪÚL.LA
	DIŠ *šu-ul-pa*	KÚ *šá x piš* ZI GÁL-*šú*
x+25	DIŠ ŠE . *x*	KÚ [KI.] KAL *x y* [ ]
		break
	continued on *Sm* 2073 etc.	
		break
	[DIŠ]	KÚ [ ]*x*
	[DIŠ]-*ši*	KÚ [ ]*x*
	[DIŠ ^{d}D]ÌM.ME	KÚ [ ]*x*
	[DIŠ M]UL.MEŠ	KÚ UD *ba-l*[*a*(*?*)-*ṭi*(*?*)]*x*
y+5	DIŠ [N]IM.MEŠ	KÚ ŠE *u* KU[G.BABBAR TUK-*š*]*i*
		ina PAP.[ḪA]AL [È]
	DIŠ *kul-ba-a-bi*	KÚ NÍG.ŠU-*šú iš-te-ni-i*$^{?}$-*šú*
	DIŠ *tu-la-a-ti*	KÚ *ka-šad li-i-ti*
	DIŠ *pi-zal-l*[*u-ri*]	KÚ *ma-la i-šu-u i-dap-pu-ur*
y+10	DIŠ *ka-bu-*[*ta*	KÚ ^{d}]NISABA TUK-*ši*
	DIŠ *ip-ru-*[*ma*	KÚ] *x* [*x*] KÚ
		[T]AG$_4$-*šú*
	DIŠ *pu-ra-ti x*[	KÚ IGI-*m*]*ar*
		[-*š*]*ú*
y+15	DIŠ NÍG KÚ *i-par-ru* [	*n*]*un*
	DIŠ *ip-ru-ma*[	]
		[ ]
	DIŠ *ú-nu-ut* ŠAG$_4$-*šú*	[ ]
		[ ]
	DIŠ *ú-nu-ut* ŠAG$_4$-*šú*	[ ]
		edge
	Reverse column iii—on *K.* 4570 + 7251	
		break
	[DIŠ	NAG DAGAL]-*eš*
	[DIŠ	NAG] DU-*šú*
	[DIŠ	NAG *t*]*i-bu-um*
	[DIŠ	NAG UD]-*me i-qat-ti*

x+5 [DIŠ NAG] ŠU SAR DINGIR
[Á].TUK IGI-*mar*
[DIŠ] NAG LIL-*aˀ*
[DIŠ] NAG LIL-*aˀ*
[DIŠ] NAG *dul-luḫ-ḫu-u*
x+10 [DIŠ] NAG *dul-luḫ-ḫu-u*
[DIŠ] NAG NINDA *mat-qá* KÚ
[DIŠ] *x* NAG DUG_4.GA *i-mi-ik-ki*
[DIŠ] NAG ŠE TUK-*ši ta-ni-iḫ-tú*
[DIŠ]-*ni* NAG *di-il-ḫu*
x+15 [DIŠ] NAG ŠE TUK-*ši*
[DIŠ] NAG NINDA *mat-qá* KÚ
[DIŠ]-*ri* NAG ÌR.$GEME_2$ TUK-*ši*
[DIŠ] NAG *uš-tab-bal* // SUMUN-*bar*
[DIŠ]-*a-ti* NAG *ana* DINGIR-*šú*
x+20 *pi-*[*r*]*it-tú* *iq-bi*
[DIŠ] NAG [*x y p*]*i-rit-ti*
[DIŠ] N[AG] TUK-*ši*
[DIŠ] DÙG
[DIŠ] IGI

break

continued on *K.* 11841

break

DIŠ A.K[ÀŠ.MEŠ NAG]
DIŠ A.KÀŠ.MEŠ [NAG]
DINGIR.[ ]
DIŠ A *ḫi-il-ti* NAG *ki-ṣir* [ ]

---

y+5 DIŠ KÀŠ-*šú* NAG $ŠAG_4$.[BI]
DINGIR *x* [ ]
DIŠ [*x*]-*ú* N[AG]

break

continued on *Sm* 2073 etc.

break

[?] *ina x y* [ ]
[DIŠ *x y z-ma*] *x im-ḫur-šú*
[*x*]-*y-tu-šú sad-ra* // GAB
[DIŠ *x y z-ma*] ANŠE.KUR.RA *im-ḫur-šu*
z+5 *e-ṭì-ra* TUK-*ši*
[DIŠ *x y z*]-*ma* ANŠE *im-ḫur-šú*
i-mir-tu DUMU.MEŠ TUK-*ši*
[DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma*] $UDU.NITA_2$ *im-ḫur-šú*
še-im TUK-*ši*
z+10 [DIŠ KI.MIN-*m*]*a* UR.ZÍR *im-ḫur-šú*
ana ár-kàt UD.ME SIG_5
[DIŠ KI.MIN]-*ma* ŠAḪ *im-ḫur-šú*
DUMU.MEŠ TUK-*ši* $ŠAG_4$-*šú* DÙG-*ab*
[DIŠ] KI.MIN-*ma* KA_5.A *im-ḫur-šú*
z+15 DUMU.MEŠ TUK-*ši* $ŠAG_4$-*šú* DÙG-*ab*
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* PÉŠ *im-ḫur-šú*
NINDA *sad-ra* KÚ
mim-mu-šú DUGUD TÙM
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* MUD *im-ḫur-šú šá* ḪA.A GUR-*šú*

edge

Reverse column iv—on *K.* 11841

break

[DIŠ]*x*

[DIŠ]*x* DAB-*su*
[DIŠ] *ni* AMA-*šú*
break

Tablet A

Fragment No. 1

K. 6673 (*cf.* pl. VII). See p. 275 for discussion.

break
[DIŠ K]Ú *mim-mu-šú* DU[L.DU(?)]
[DIŠ] KÚ KI.MIN

[DIŠ] KÚ *te-šu-u ina* KUR GAR-*an* [ ]
[DIŠ] KÚ BIR É [*x*]
x+5 [DIŠ] KÚ $ŠAG_4$ [ ]
[DIŠ Š]AḪ KÚ DAM.LÚ B[A.UG_6]
[DIŠ] *x* KÚ *ina* NU KA-*šu* DAB-[*su*]
[DIŠ] *x* KÚ GIG-*ma* TI

[DIŠ *d*]*a-kam* KU.A SAL.S[IG]$_5$.GA DAB-*su*
x+10 [DIŠ] MIN *di-nu* DAB-*su*
[DIŠ]*x* MIN $ŠAG_4$.BI NU DÙG.GA
[DIŠ] MIN $ŠAG_4$.BI DÙG.GA
[DIŠ] MIN *x* KUR *su* ZI [ ]
[DIŠ MI]N NU BA *x y* [ ]
x+15 [DIŠ MIN U]ZU NU [DÙG.GA]
[DIŠ MIN UZ]U.NI *is*-[ ]
[DIŠ] *x* EN [ ]
[DIŠ] *x* [ ]
break

Tablet A

Fragment No. 2

K. 10663 (*cf.* pl. VII). See p. 275 for discussion.

break

[DIŠ Z]AG *il-pu*-[*ut*]
[DIŠ] *il-pu-ut x* [ ]
[DIŠ(?)] *ma x y ni* [ ]
[DIŠ] UM TU *x*-*šú* UD.MEŠ-*šú* [ ]
x+5 [DIŠ M]I *ik-tu-um* UD.MEŠ-*šú* [ ]

[DIŠ] KÚ NA.BI [ ]
[DIŠ] KÚ *mim-ma* [ ]
[DIŠ] KÚ ŠU.BI.[AŠ.A.AN]
[DIŠ] KÚ *tu x y* [ ]
x+10 [DIŠ] KÚ ZI.GA [ ]
[DIŠ] KÚ *x* [ ] NA [ ]
break

Tablet A

Fragment No. 3

Sm 1458 (*cf.* pl. VII). See p. 275 for discussion.

break
[DIŠ] KÚ *x* [ ]
[DIŠ] KÚ KI.MIN

[DIŠ] KÚ *ul-t*[*ab-bar*]
[DIŠ] KÚ KU-*šú* [ ]
x+5 [DIŠ] KÚ LAL.DÙ [ ]

[DIŠ]*i-qa-ri-šú ir-ta-na-ap-*[*pu-du*]
[(?)] *i-sab-bu-bu* DÙG.G[A]
[DIŠ *i*]*m-gur* KUR.BI [ ]
[DIŠ] DÙ-*uš* *ana* É [ ]

---

x+10 [ ]*x* AG [ ]
[ ] *x* [ ]

break

Tablet A

Fragment No. 4

Obverse column i; reverse columns i, ii: *K.* 14884 (*cf.* pl. IX). See pp. 275–276 for discussion.

Obverse column i

edge

DIŠ NA *ina* MÁŠ.GE$_6$-*šú x y z* UZU.[BI] *la* [ ]
[DIŠ] *x y tam-ṭa-*[*a*]-*t*[*um*]
[DIŠ] *x y* ŠAG$_4$.BI [ ]
[DIŠ] *áš-na-an* *x y* ŠAG$_4$.BI [ ]
5 [DIŠ] *ri tu*[*m*] *x y* [ ]
[ ] ŠAG$_4$.BI *x*[ ]
[ ] ŠAG$_4$.BI *x*[ ]
[ ] ŠAG$_4$.BI-*šu* [ ]

[ ] *x y* ŠAG$_4$-*šu* [ ]
10 [ ] MIN ŠAG$_4$-*šu x* [ ]
[ ] MIN ḪUL(?).B[I]
[ ] MIN MIN [ ]
[ ] MIN ŠAG$_4$.BI [ ]
[ ] MIN ŠAG$_4$-*š*[*u*]
15 [ ] *x y* [ ]

break

Reverse column i

break

DIŠ GIŠ.MA+*gunû* [ ]

DIŠ GIŠ.MA [ ]
DIŠ GIŠ.[Ì].[GI]Š [ ]
DIŠ GIŠ.DIN [ ]
x+5 DIŠ GIŠ *šal-lu-ru* [ ]
DIŠ GIŠ *ur-*[*zi-nu*]

DIŠ SU$_{11}$.[LUM]
DIŠ ḪA.[ŠUR(?)]
DIŠ DU [ ]
x+10 DIŠ *šu-u*[*m-*]

DIŠ *x* [ ]
DIŠ *x* [ ]
DIŠ GIŠ [ ]
DIŠ *x* [ ]

edge

Column ii

break

[ ]
[x] *tar-ṣi* ^{md}*Aš-šur(!)*-PAP.A MAN KIŠ
[MA]N KUR ^{d}*Aš-šur*
A ^{m}GIŠ.TUKUL.^{d}BAR MAN *Aš-šur* MAN KIŠ
MAN KUR ^{d}*Aš-šur*

Tablet B

Obverse: *Sm* 952 (*cf.* pl. VIII). See pp. 276–279 for translation.
K. 2018A + *Sm* 477 (*cf.* pl. IX).
82-5-22, 538 (*cf.* pl. X).
Reverse: *K.* 12525 + *Sm* 1562 (*cf.* pl. IX). See pp. 279–281 for translation.
Sm 801 + *Sm* 952 + *Sm* 1024 (*cf.* pl. VIII).
Sm 952 (joint to *Sm* 801)
Sm 1024 (joint to *Sm* 801)
Uncertain location: *K.* 12842 (not transliterated) (*cf.* pl. X). See note 77 for discussion.

Obverse column i—on *Sm* 952 +

break of approximately six lines below upper edge

[DIŠ SU]M-*š*[*ú*] *i-x*-[ ]
[DIŠ UR]UDU [ ] URUDU(?) SUM-*šú* *i-x*-[ ]
[DIŠ URUDU . *x*] UD.KA.BAR SUM-*šú* [ ]
10 DIŠ URUDU ŠEN.TUR SUM-*šú* [ ]

DIŠ NA$_4$.KIŠIB SUM-*šú* DUMU.UŠ [TUK-*ši*]
DIŠ NA$_4$.KIŠIB NA$_4$.ZA.GÌN SUM-*šú* DINGIR.MEŠ[ ]
DIŠ NA$_4$.KIŠIB NA$_4$.GUG SUM-*šú* DUMU.MEŠ DUMU.SAL.MEŠ [TUK]
DIŠ NA$_4$.KIŠIB *iḫ-zi* SUM-*šú* DUMU.MEŠ DUMU.SAL.MEŠ N[U TUK]
15 DIŠ NA$_4$.KIŠIB KA SUM-*šú* ŠAG$_4$.SÈ.SÈ.KI-*šú* [KUR]
DIŠ NA$_4$.KIŠIB NA$_4$.MUŠ.GÍR SUM-*šú* ŠAG$_4$.SÈ.SÈ.KI-*šú* NU [KUR]
DIŠ NA$_4$.KIŠIB SAR SUM-*šú* *lu* MU *lu* DUMU TUK DUMU.UŠ GI.NA
DIŠ NA$_4$.KIŠIB ALAM.MEŠ SUM-*šú* DUMU.MEŠ TUK ŠAG$_4$.BI DÙG.[GA]
DIŠ NA$_4$.KIŠIB LUGAL SUM-*šú* DINGIR-*šú* EŠ$_4$.DAR-*šú* GÁL *šum*$_4$-*ma x* [ ]
20 DIŠ NA$_4$.KIŠIB SUMUN SUM-*šú* DUMU.GI.NA *šum*$_4$-*ma* IZKIM TUK-[*ši*]
DIŠ NA$_4$.KIŠIB U SUM-*šú* DUMU.GI.NA TUK-*š*[*i*]
DIŠ NA$_4$.KIŠIB NU U SUM-*šú* DUMU LÚ.ḪUB TUK-*ši*
DIŠ NA$_4$.KIŠIB GAR-*ma it-ba-lu lu* DUMU-*šú lu* DUMU.SAL-*šú* UG$_6$
DIŠ NA$_4$.KIŠIB MU-*šu* SUM-*šú* MU *u* NUMUN TUK-*ši*
25 DIŠ NA$_4$.KIŠIB MU.[SUM-*šú*] *ana* IDIM UKU$_2$ *ana* MAŠ.EN.DÙ NÍG.TUK
DIŠ NA$_4$.KIŠIB M[U-*šú* GAR-*ma it-b*]*a-lu* DUMU-*šú* UG$_6$
DIŠ NA$_4$.KIŠIB M[U SUM-*šú*] IDIM LÁ-*lil* MAŠ.EN.DÙ NÍG.TUK TUK-*ši*
DIŠ NA$_4$.KIŠIB MU.[ ] SUM-*šú* *lu* A.MEŠ *lu ip-qam* DIRI
DIŠ NA$_4$.KIŠIB MU.[SU]M-*šú* ŠAG$_4$.SÈ.SÈ.KI-*šú* KUR-*ad*
30 DIŠ NA$_4$.KIŠIB M[U.]*x* SUM-*šú* *i-na-ḫi-iš* UGU EN INIM-*šú* GUB-[*az*]
DIŠ NA$_4$.KIŠIB [MU] *x y* SUM-*šú* DUMU-*šú* [UG$_6$]
DIŠ NA$_4$.KIŠIB [MU] AD-*šú* SUM-*šú* LAL É AD-*šú* SAG.DU-*su* [*x y*]
DIŠ NA$_4$.KIŠIB MU AD-*šú* SUM-*šú* *i*-[*x y*]
DIŠ NA$_4$[.KIŠIB SUM]-*šú* [*x y z*]
35 DIŠ NA$_4$.[.KIŠIB SUM]-*šú* [N]ÍG.ŠU AD-[*šú*]

break

continued on *K.* 2018A

break

[DIŠ]*x*
[DIŠ TA]G$_4$-*šú*
[DIŠ] *x* GAB
[DIŠ] GIG-*aṣ*

y+5 [DIŠ]*x-šú* KÚ
[DIŠ]-*ta* DÙ-*uš*
[DIŠ] *x* KUR.KUR.MEŠ-*šú*

[DIŠ GIŠ. SUM-š]*ú* ŠAG$_4$.BI DÙG.GA
[DIŠ GIŠ.] SUM-*šú* NU DÙG.GA *lìb-bi*
y+10 [DIŠ GIŠ.] SUM-*šú* DINGIR-*šú* ARḪUŠ TUK-*ši-šú*
[DIŠ *taz-ka*]-*ri-in-nu* SUM-*šú* *i-na-mi-ir*
[DIŠ] GIŠ.MES SUM-*šú* DUMU.SAL.MEŠ TUK-*ši*
[DIŠ] GIŠ.ŠINIG SUM-*šú* DINGIR TI.LA BA-*su*
DIŠ GIŠ.ERIN SUM-*šú lu* AD-*šú lu* DUMU.UŠ-*šú* UG$_6$
y+15 DIŠ GIŠ.ŠUR.MAN SUM-*šú ina la-li-šú i-qat-ti*
DIŠ GIŠ *dap-ra-nu* SUM-*šú* MU SAL.SIG$_5$ IGI-*mar*
DIŠ GIŠ *mi-iḫ-ra* SUM-*šú* GABA.RI NU TUK-*ši*
DIŠ GIŠ.A.TU.GAB.LIŠ SUM-*šú* DAM TUK-*ši*
DIŠ GIŠ.Ù.KU SUM-*šú* É-*su* ZALAG-*ir*
y+20 DIŠ GIŠ.MEŠ ZU SUM-*šú* UD.MEŠ GÍD.DA.MEŠ
DIŠ GIŠ.MEŠ NU ZU SUM-*šú* LUGAL *mim-mu-šú* TÙM // TIL UD-*me*
DIŠ GIŠ.ŠIM ZU SUM-*šú* ḪA.A IGI
DIŠ GIŠ.ŠIM NU ZU SUM-*šú* LUGAL *mim-mu-šú* TÙM
DIŠ Á.KÁR LÚ.NAGAR SUM-*šú* É <EN> INIM.MA *i-be-el*

edge

Obverse column ii—on 82-5-22, 538

edge

[DIŠ Á.]KÁR LÚ.AŠ[GAB SU]M-*šú* ZI.GA *sar-dat-su šum*$_4$*-ma* TU[K]
[DIŠ Á.]KÁR LÚ.SI[MUG S]UM-*šú* NAM.NE.RU DAB-*su*
[DIŠ Á.KÁ]R LÚ.ZADIM SUM-*šú* *mim-mu-šú ik-ka-šir*$_4$
[DIŠ Á.KÁR] LÚ.BAḪAR SUM-*šú* Á.TUK LUGAL.KALA.GA TI-*qí*
5 [DIŠ Á.KÁR LÚ.A]D.GUB$_x$ SUM-*šú* *ḫu-ud lìb-bi* UŠ.MEŠ-*šú*
[DIŠ Á.KÁR LÚ.URUDU.N]AGAR SUM-*šú* *lu-úp-nu u ma-ku-u* DAB-*su*
[DIŠ]*x* SUM-*šú* ŠE *u* KUG.BABBAR TUK-[*ši*]
[DIŠ] SUM-*šú* ÌR *u* GEME$_2$ TUK-[*ši*]
[DIŠ S]UM-*šú* ZI.GA [*x-y*]
10 [DIŠ SU]M-*šú* Á.DAḪ TUK-*ši mim-mu-šú* ḪA.A [IGI]
[DIŠ SUM-š]*ú* *x ana* LÚ È *šum*$_4$*-ma* BE-*tu* UGU-*šú* [ ]
[DIŠ SUM-*šú*] ÌR *u* GEME$_2$ TUK-*ši šum*$_4$*-ma tuš-šú* UG[U-*šú x*]
[DIŠ SUM-*šú*] INIM.NU.GAR.RA U[GU-*šú*]
[DIŠ SUM-*šú*] *mim-mu-šú* ḪA.[A]

break

continued on *K.* 2018A

break

[DIŠ UZU UDU.NITA$_2$]*x* SUM-[*šú*]
[DIŠ UZU UDU.NITA$_2$ A]L.ŠEG$_6$.GÁ SUM-[*šú*]
DIŠ UZU UDU.NITA$_2$ NU AL.ŠEG$_6$.GÁ SUM-[*šú*]
DIŠ UZU GUR$_4$.RA SUM-[*šú*]
x+5 DIŠ UZU NU GUR$_4$.RA SUM-[*šú*]
DIŠ UZU AL.ḪAB.BA SUM-[*šú*]
DIŠ UZU NU ZU SUM-[*šú*]
DIŠ UZU KIN AL.ŠEG$_6$.GÁ SUM-[*šú*]
DIŠ UZU KIN NU AL.ŠEG$_6$.GÁ SUM-[*šú*]
x+10 DIŠ UZU KIN ÙZ AL.ŠEG$_6$.GÁ SUM-[*šú*]
DIŠ UZU *qir-bi* MUD SUM-[*šú*] K[A]
DIŠ UZU *qir-bi* // UZU KIN SUM-*šú* KA SAL [ ]
DIŠ UZU MAŠ.DÙ SUM-*šú* ḪA.LA *ib-b*[*a?*]
DIŠ UZU NAM.LÚ.U$_8$.LU SUM-*šú* DÙ-*eš* [*x*]
x+15 DIŠ UZU UR.ZÍR SUM-*šú šu-ku-us-su* SI.SÁ
DIŠ UZU ŠAḪ SUM-*šú* NU.DÙG.GA UZU

	DIŠ UZU ANŠE	SUM-*šú mim-ma* NU ḪAR-*tú* IGI-*mar*
	DIŠ UZU ANŠE.KUR.RA	SUM-*šú ina di-nim i-qal-lil*
	DIŠ UZU ANŠE.EDIN.NA	SUM-*šú ḫa-šaḫ* ŠE
x+20	DIŠ UZU ḪÂD.DA	SUM-*šú* NAM.NE.RU DAB-*su*
	DIŠ NI.LU	SUM-*šú mim-ma la ki ku iš ina* KI.KAL KUR-*ad*
	DIŠ NI.LU GUD	SUM-*šú ul-tab-bar*
	DIŠ NI.LU UDU.NITA$_2$	SUM-*šú ṣa-bat* IGI^2 [233]
	DIŠ NI.LU UR.MAḪ	SUM-[*šú*] GABA.RI NU TUK-*ši*
x+25	DIŠ NI.LU UR.BAR.RA	SUM-[*šú*] DINGIR-*šú* KI-*šú zi-ni*
	DIŠ NI.LU UR.ZÍR	SUM-[*šú*] *ṣa-bat* [NÍG].ḪUL [234]
	DIŠ NI.LU *ú-ma-me* ZU	SUM-[*šú*] *ḫa-tum* DAB-*su* [235]
	DIŠ NI.LU *ú-ma-me* N[U ZU	SUM-*šú*] [236]

edge

Obverse column iii—on 82-5-22, 538

edge

DIŠ NÍG.[	]
DIŠ ŠUM.[	]
DIŠ ŠUM.[	]

break

continued on *K.* 2018A

break

	[DIŠ	SUM-*šú ina*] *di-ni* [ ]
	[DIŠ	SU]M-*šú* NÍG. <ŠU> *ma-a*^{2}*-du* T[UK-*ši*]
	[DIŠ	]SUM-*šú* ŠAG$_4$.SÈ.SÈ.KI-*šú* K[UR-*ad*]
	[DIŠ GI]Š.SAG.NÍG.GUL	SUM-*šú* SAG.DU-*su* [*x* (*y*)]
x+5	DIŠ GIŠ.GIGIR	SUM-*šú* NAM.DIŠ [*x* (*y*)]
	DIŠ GIŠ.GIGIR KUG.BABBAR	SUM-*šú mim-ma* NU ḪAR-*tú* ŠU-*s*[*u* KUR-*ad*]
	DIŠ GIŠ.UMBIN	SUM-*šú* DUMU.MAŠ.TAB.BA TUK-*ši*
	DIŠ GIŠ.MAR.GÍD.DA	SUM-*šú* ÂŠ-*su* KUR-[*ad*]
	DIŠ Á.KÁR GIŠ.GIGIR	SUM-*šú ir-bu* T[U-*ub*]
x+10	DIŠ KUŠ *a-šá-at*	SUM-*šú* UD.MEŠ-*šú* GÍD.M[EŠ]
	DIŠ KUŠ *ka-ba-ab*	SUM-*šú ina* KI.KAL È
	DIŠ SUḪUR.ANŠE	SUM-*šú* NA.BI GABA.RI NU TUK-*ši*
	DIŠ GIŠ.IG	SUM-*šú* SUMUN-*bar*
	DIŠ GIŠ.SAK.KUL	SUM-*šú* ÂŠ.ŠAG$_4$ TUK-[*ši*]
x+15	DIŠ GIŠ.ŠU.DIŠ	SUM-*šú* INIM *la* È
	DIŠ GI.DUB.BA	SUM-*šú* Á.DAḪ TUK-[*ši*]
	DIŠ GI PEŠ GI	SUM-*šú ṣú-mi-ra-tu-šú* KUR-[*ad*]
	DIŠ G[I	SU]M-*šú* SAG.KAL-*tú* DÙ-*uš* // UD.MEŠ-*š*[*ú x*]
	[DIŠ	SUM-*šú*] *ni* [*x* (*y*)]
x+20	[DIŠ	SUM-*šú*] *si b*[*u*]

edge

Reverse column i—on *Sm* 801+

edge

remnants of six lines beginning with DIŠ on *K.* 12525 etc.

break

	[DIŠ ḪÚ]L. *x*	[SUM-*šú*]
	DIŠ ḪÚL.KIL	[SUM-*šú*]
	DIŠ GIŠ.ŠÚ.A	SUM[-*šú*]
	DIŠ GIŠ.DILIM	SUM-*šú* [ ]
x+5	DIŠ GIŠ.DILIM.TUR	SUM-*šú* ŠE.[ ]

[233] *VAT* 14279 has IGI^2.MEŠ.
[234] *VAT* 14279 has *ṣa-bat ár-ni.*
[235] Restored after *VAT* 14279.
[236] *K.* 2018A is broken, *VAT* 14279 has here a blank.

DIŠ GIŠ.BUGIN — SUM-*šú* ŠE.GIŠ.NI SI.SÁ.MEŠ
DIŠ GÚ.ZI SUD-*ta* — SUM-*šú* UKU_2 UKU_2-*in*
DIŠ GÚ.ZI DIRI-*ta* — SUM-*šú* MU *u* NUMUN TUK-*ši*
DIŠ GIŠ.GEŠTIN — SUM-*šú* INIM ŠE.GA UD.MEŠ-*šú* GUD_4.MEŠ
x+10 DIŠ KAŠ.SAG — SUM-*šú* DINGIR-*šú* $ŠAG_4$-*šú* BE-*šú* $DUG_4.DUG_4$-*šú* *i-mas-ši*
DIŠ KAŠ.SAG ZU NU ZU — SUM-*šú* *ina-an-ziq*
DIŠ LÀL — SUM-*šú* *ina* IM.RI.A $UG_6.UG_6$
DIŠ LÀL.KUR.RA — SUM-*šú* $ŠAG_4$.SÈ.SÈ.KI-*šú* KUR-*ad*
DIŠ Ì+GIŠ — SUM-*šú* INIM.DÙG.GA ŠE.GA
x+15 DIŠ Ì+GIŠ DÙG.GA — SUM-*šú* KI.MIN
DIŠ Ì+GIŠ GUD — SUM-*šú* *iš-di-ḫu* GAR-*šú*
DIŠ Ì+GIŠ $UDU.NITA_2$ — SUM-*šú* SI.SÁ BALA-*šú*
DIŠ Ì+GIŠ MUŠEN — SUM-*šú* *i-ṣur i-ṣur* KA-*ú*
DIŠ Ì+GIŠ ḪA — SUM-*šú* ZI.GA *sa-dir-šú*
x+20 DIŠ Ì+GIŠ UR.MAḪ — SUM-*šú* *ga-me-ru-ta* DÙ-*uš*
DIŠ Ì+GIŠ UR.BAR.RA — SUM-*šú* *ṣa-bat si-li-ʾ-ti*
DIŠ Ì+GIŠ UR.ZÍR — SUM-*šú* *in-na-sar*
DIŠ Ì+GIŠ ANŠE — SUM-*šú* ZALAG-*ir*
DIŠ Ì+GIŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA — SUM-*šú* DINGIR *u* LUGAL KUR.MEŠ-*šú*
x+25 DIŠ Ì+GIŠ ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA — SUM-*šú* MU-*šú* NU SI.SÁ
DIŠ Ì+GIŠ ANŠE.EDIN.NA — SUM-*šú* *ina ki-di* BA.UG_6
DIŠ Ì+GIŠ DURAḪ.BAR — SUM-*šú* MU.1.KAM GIŠ.NÁ DAB-*bat*
DIŠ Ì+GIŠ DURAḪ — SUM-*šú* MAŠKIM DAB-*su*
DIŠ Ì+GIŠ DURAḪ.MAŠ.DÙ — SUM-*šú* DUMU.SAL-*su* BA.UG_6
x+30 DIŠ Ì+GIŠ MAŠ.DÙ — SUM-*šú* DUMU.SAL-*su* B[A.UG_6]
DIŠ Ì+GIŠ UG.TUR — SUM-*šú* ZALAG-[*ir*]
[DIŠ — SUM]-*šú* UG_6 *ina* É N[A]
[—] *u* SUD [ ]

break

Reverse column ii—on *K.* 12525 + *Sm* 1562

edge

[DIŠ A.MEŠ] UZU — SUM-*šú* NU DÙG.GA UZU
[DIŠ A Ú.IG]I.20 — SUM-*šú* *mim-mu-šú ina-pú-uš*
[DIŠ A *x y* GIŠ].ŠE.NÁ.A — SUM-*šú* *šá i-ši-it-tu* *i-rag-gu-mu-šú ṣa-bat* ḪUL
5 DIŠ A.GEŠTIN.NA — SUM-*šú* *at-ḫi-e* TUK-*ši*
DIŠ *e*-[*ṣ*]*i-id* IGI A — SUM-*šú* *mim-mu-šú* ḪA.A
DIŠ GADA — [SUM-*šú* Š]U.DINGIR UGU-*šú in-ni-mid*
DIŠ TÚG.GADA — [SUM-*šú* UGU GABA.]RI GUB-*za*
DIŠ TÚG — SUM-[*šú*]
10 DIŠ TÚG.BÍL — SUM-*šú* UD.MEŠ [ ]
DIŠ TÚG.SUMUN — SUM-*šú* [ ]
[DIŠ TÚG.*x*].MEŠ — SUM-*šú* DUMU.SAL.MEŠ [ ]
[— SUM]-*šú* [ ]

break

continued on *Sm* 801 etc.

break

[DIŠ — IGI]-*mar*(*?*)
[DIŠ —] DINGIR-*šú*
[DIŠ —] *x*
[DIŠ —] *x y z*
x+5 [DIŠ — *ina di-ni*] *i-qal-lil*
[DIŠ —] DIRI A.MEŠ BA.UG_6
[DIŠ — *ši-iḫ*]-*ḫat* UZU TUK-*ši*
[DIŠ — *da-bi-bu*] *i-dab-bu-bu-šú*

[DIŠ — SUM-*šú* — ^{d}]LAMA TUK-*ši*

x+10	⌊DIŠ	SUM-*šú*]*x šú x ma ši ir*
	[DIŠ	SUM-*šú* NA.B]I UG_6 *šum₄-ma* DAM-*su* UG_6
	DIŠ[ ]*x*[	SUM-*šú* $ŠAG_4$.B]I NU DÙG.GA É *la* È
	DIŠ *x* [*y*	SUM-*šú*] ARḪUŠ GAR-*šu* DUGUD-*it*
	DIŠ A.MEŠ	[SUM-*šú*] UD.MEŠ-*šú* GÍD.MEŠ
x+15	DIŠ KAŠ.SAG	SU[M-*šú*] $DUG_4.DUG_4$.GA-*šú i-maš-ši*
	DIŠ GEŠTIN	SU[M-*šú*] UD.MEŠ-*šú* GUD_4.MEŠ
	DIŠ A.MEŠ ÍD	S[UM-*šú* *iš-d*]*i-iḫ-šú i-ma-ad*
	DIŠ A.MEŠ PÚ	[SUM-*šú* NÍ]G.TUK KUN-*ut*
	DIŠ A.MEŠ PÚ Ì+GIŠ	[SUM-*šú*] *du*[*l-l*]*uḫ-ḫu-u* IGI-*mar*
x+20	DIŠ A.MEŠ PA[$_5$	SUM-*š*]*ú* LÚ.NE.MEŠ
	DIŠ A.MEŠ *a-t*[*ap-pi*	SUM-*š*]*ú* ^{d}IM EBUR-*šú* RA-*iṣ*
	DIŠ A.MEŠ [	SUM-*šú*] *dul-ḫu-u*
	DIŠ GIŠ.[	] SUM-*šú* *ina ar-ra-ti* ŠUB-*ut*
	DIŠ GIŠ.[	] SUM-*šú* Á.TUK TUK-*ši*
x+25	DIŠ PA.[	] SUM-*šú* *mim-ma šum-šú ut-ta*
	DIŠ *x* [	] *y* SUM-*šú* INIM *e-til-la* GAR-*an*
	DIŠ *x* [	] *y* SUM-*šú* KUŠ.KÚ DAB-*su*
	[DIŠ	] *x* SUM-*šú* *ina-an-ziq*
	[DIŠ	*im*]-*ḫur* ḪI.GAR DAB *šum₄-ma* MU.1.KAM SÙḪ
x+30	[DIŠ	*im*]-*ḫur* DINGIR *u* LUGAL KUR.MEŠ-[*šú*]
	[DIŠ	*im-ḫu*]*r x y* [ ]
		break

Reverse column iii—on *Sm* 801 etc.

		break
	DIŠ T[ÚG]	*iṣ-*[*bat*]
	DIŠ TÚG LÚ.T[UR]	*iṣ-b*[*at*]
	DIŠ ŠU.DUGUD	*iṣ-*[*bat*]
	DIŠ TÚG.DUGUD	*iṣ-bat* DUGUD *x y* [ ]
x+5	DIŠ UD.SAR	*iṣ-bat a-šar* NU ZU *x y* [ ]
	DIŠ TÚG LÚ.TUR	*iṣ-bat* LÚ.TUR *ú-šam-ḫir-*[*šú*]
	DIŠ UR.MAḪ	*iṣ-bat* ZI.BU.BI.DU
	DIŠ UR.BAR.RA	*iṣ-bat* ZI.BU.BI.DU
	DIŠ KA_5.A	*iṣ-bat* ^{d}LAMA DAB-*bat*
x+10	DIŠ KA_5.A *iṣ-bat-ma ina* ŠU-*šú* È	^{d}LAMA TUK *u ina* ŠU-*šú* È
	DIŠ SA.A	*iṣ-bat* KUR-*ad* ÁŠ ^{d}LAMA TUK-*ši*
	DIŠ MUŠ	*iṣ-bat* ^{d}LAMA TUK-*ši*
	DIŠ [MÁ]Š	*iṣ-bat* ^{d}KAL+BE DAB-*su*
	DIŠ $UDU.NITA_2$	*iṣ-bat di-nu* DAB-*su*
x+15	DIŠ SAL.[UR(?)].ZÍR	*iṣ-bat* ^{d}KAL DAB-*bat ina* KA DINGIR *qar qar du šú*
	[DIŠ D]INGIR *u* LUGAL	*iṣ-bat* ŠI.ḪAR DINGIR *u* LUGAL KUR.MEŠ-*šú*
	[DIŠ] NA <*ina*> MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* ŠE	*ik-su-us da-bi-bu i-da-bu-bu-šú*
	[DUB *x* KA]M ÉŠ.KÀR	[(*x*) ^{d}*Zi*]-*qi-qu*
	[	]
		break

Tablet C

Obverse: *K.* 25 + *K.* 8442 (*cf.* pl. XI). See pp. 282–283 for translation.
also *K.* 2239 (duplicate) (*cf.* pl. XII).

Reverse: *K.* 25 + *K.* 2046 + *K.* 2205 + *K.* 2216 + *K.* 8442 (*cf.* pl. XII). See pp. 283–288 for translation.
also *K.* 2239 (duplicate) (*cf.* pl. XII).

Obverse column i—on *K.* 25+.

break of twenty-three lines

DIŠ K[I.MI]N-*ma x* [ ]
qu-tur [ ]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* DINGIR.MEŠ [ ]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* KI DIN[GIR]
u ḫi-ṭu I[G]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* KI DIN[GIR]
u ḫi-ṭu I[G]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* EŠ *u* [MAN]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* EŠ [ ]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* MAN [ ]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma it-t*[*i*]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* A.ŠAG$_4$ *x*[ ]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* ^{d}UTU [ ]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* SAḪAR.ḪI.[A]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* UZ[U]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* GIŠ.APIN DA[B]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* DINGIR-*šú ina x*[ ]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* MUL.DIL.BA[T]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* MUL.ŠUD[UN]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* KI DI[NGIR]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* KI DI[NGIR]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma ana* É [ ]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma uš-ki*[*n*]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* ŠUB *u*[*t*]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma x y* [ ]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma ina* DUR UŠ[ ]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* [M]UL.MEŠ DAB [ ]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* MUL.MEŠ KÚ [ ]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma ana* ÍD ŠUB-*ut* [ ]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma ana* ÍD ŠUB-*ut-ma* [ ]
[DIŠ KI.MIN]-*ma ur-dam-ma* ŠÈ K[Ú]
[DIŠ KI.MIN]-*ma* NI.LU KÚ [ ]
[DIŠ KI.MIN]-*ma mim-ma* KÚ [ ]
[DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma*] *ana* É DINGIR-*šú* TU-*ma* DINGIR-*š*[*ú*]
[DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma ana* É]
[DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma*]*ana* É [ ]
x SU LA(?) ID[ ]
[DIŠ KI.MIN-*m*]*a* DINGIR-*šú* AN *x* [ ]
[DIŠ KI.MIN-*m*]*a* DINGIR-*šú x* [ ]
[DIŠ KI.MIN]-*ma ana* DINGIR/^{d}[ ]
[DIŠ KI].MIN-*ma ana* ^{d}UTU [ ]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* EŠ *u* MAN *šá* [ ]
DIŠ KI.MIN UG$_6$.MEŠ IGI.M[EŠ-*šú*]
DIŠ KI.MIN DINGIR.MEŠ *šá* AN-*e* [*iz-zu-r*]*u-šú* AN [ ]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* KI DINGIR MUL-*šú x*-[*ṣ*]*i-ma* IGI.DU$_8$ *x* [ ]
DIŠ *ina* AN-*e tuk-ki da-ba-bi iš-te-nim-me ina-ziq*
DIŠ DINGIR *ana* ŠAG$_4$ AN-*e* TU-*ma* IGI KI.LAM KUR LAL-*al x* [ ]

DIŠ *ana* KI *ú-rid* UG$_6$-*ma ina* KI *ul qí-bir iš-da-*[*šú* (NU) GI.NA]
DIŠ *ana* KI *ú-rid-ma* UG$_6$.MEŠ IGI.MEŠ GUD$_4$.MEŠ *x* [ ]
ina IM.RI.A-*šú* [UG$_6$.UG$_6$]
DIŠ KI.[MIN]-*ma* UG$_6$.MEŠ IGI.MEŠ NA.BI GIDIM.ḪUL [ ]
NA *ina* MÁŠ.GE$_6$ *taḫ-si-sat* DINGIR.MEŠ *šá* <NÍG>.ḪA.L[AM]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* UG$_6$ IGI.DU$_8$ ZI-*bi* ḪUL-[*tim*]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* UG$_6$.MEŠ *iz-zu-ru-šú ina* INIM DINGIR *kar-ab-šú* UD.ME[Š]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* UG$_6$.MEŠ KA+ŠU.MEŠ-*šú ina* KI *la iq-*[*qí-bir*] [237]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* UG$_6$.MEŠ *iḫ-du-šú* NÍG.TUK *i-qal-lil* U[KU$_2$ SIG$_5$] [237]

[237] Restored after *K.* 2239 (Face A left column).

NA.BI UG$_6$-*ma ina* KI *al-du ul iq-qí-*[*bir*] [237]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* UG$_6$ *uš-kin-šú* UG$_6$-*ma ina* KI NU NÁ-*a*[*l*] [237]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* UG$_6$ KA+ŠU-*šú ina* ŠUB-*ti* É.SIG$_4$ UG$_6$
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* UG$_6$ *iš-šiq-šú* UG$_6$ *ṣi-e-ti* UG$_6$
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* UG$_6$ *iš-šiq* UG$_6$ *ṣi-e-ti* UG$_6$
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* UG$_6$ KÚ UG$_6$ Š[UB]-*ti* ÙR UG$_6$

edge

Obverse column ii—on *K.* 2239 (Face A right column)

break of eighty lines

DIŠ MUL [ ]*x y* [238]
DIŠ MUL *ana* UG[U] N[A]*x y* [238]
DIŠ MUL KÀŠ-*šú ana* U[GU NA *iš-tin*] BA.UG$_6$ [238]
šum-ma x [BA].UG$_6$ [238]
DIŠ MUL.MEŠ TA AN-*e ana* UG[U NA ŠUB] *x y* [238]

edge

Reverse column i—*K.* 25+.

edge

DIŠ MUL.MEŠ *ana* UGU NA ŠUB.MEŠ-*ni tuš-šú* UGU NA Š[UB] [239]
DIŠ MUL *ana* É NA ŠUB-[*u*]*t* INIM É.GAL I.BÍ.Z[A] [239]

DIŠ ^{d}KAL.MEŠ A.MEŠ *ana* ŠU^{2}-*šú* [S]UM.NA 1-*it* IGI-*šú* GUL-*ád* [239]
DIŠ ^{d}KAL.MEŠ TA AN-*e ur-da-nim-ma* A.MEŠ *ana* ŠU^{2}-*šú* SUM.NA [239]
IGI.MEŠ-*šú ú-nap-pa-lu* [*šum*$_4$-*m*]*a* A.MEŠ ^{d}KAL IGI^{2}-*šú ana* ŠU^{2}-*šu* IGI-*ḫar*
DIŠ ^{d}KAL.MEŠ *ur-da-nim-ma* A.MEŠ *ana* ŠU^{2} NA SUM.NA
IGI NA *ú-na-sa-ḫ*[*u x*(?)] *šum*$_4$-*ma tuš-šú ana* UGU NA ŠUB-*ut*
DIŠ *ina* AN-*e tuk-ki da-b*[*a-bi*] *iš-te-nim-mi* NA.BI *ina-an-ziq mim-mu-šú* DUGUD
DIŠ *ib/p-p/bu-ni-tum* TA AN-*e ina* UGU NA *iz-za-n*[*un*] [240]
NA.BI *ina* EDIN ŠU[B *x* (*y*)]-*ti x ana* UGU-*šú* [ŠUB-*ut*] [240]
DIŠ AN-*ú ik-ru-bu-niš-š*[*ú*] [240]
DIŠ AN-*ú up-ta-ri-r*[*u*] [240]
KA NA *x*[ ] [240]
DIŠ AN-*ú iz-nun* N[A] [240]
DIŠ AN-*ú* UGU NA *iz-nun* [ ] [240]
DIŠ A.AN SUR-*nun-ma* NA *x* [ ] [240]
DIŠ *ina* AN-*e is/ṣ/z-la-*[ ] [240]
DIŠ ^{d}IM *is-si* [ ] [240]
DIŠ ^{d}IM *iš-x*[ ] [240]
DIŠ ^{d}IM [ ]
DIŠ ^{d}[IM]
DIŠ ^{d}[IM]
DIŠ *ana* IGI [ ]
DIŠ *ana* IGI [ ]
DIŠ *ana* IGI [ ]
DIŠ *ana* A[MA(?)]
DIŠ L[UGAL(?)]

lines 28–49 broken

DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* [U]D GIŠIMAR [ ]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* GIŠ.ŠAG$_4$ GIŠIMAR *is-ḫ*[*u-*]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma sis-sin-na i-k*[*is*]
DIŠ TA GIŠ.GIŠIMAR *ur-da* [ ]
DIŠ GIŠ.GIŠIMAR TAG-*ut* ZI.GA [ ]
DIŠ GIŠ.GIŠIMAR *ur-ri* ≪DI≫ ḪUL-*šú* G[AB-*su*]
DIŠ GIŠ.GIŠIMAR *ur-ri* ḪUL-*šú* GAB-[*su*]

[238] Preserved on *K.* 25.
[239] Beginnings of lines preserved on *K.* 2239 (Face A right column).
[240] Beginnings of lines preserved on *K.* 2239 (Face B right column).

DIŠ GIŠ.GIŠIMAR KUD-*is* ḪUL-*šú* GAB-[*su*]
DIŠ GIŠ.ZI.NA.GIŠIMAR E_{11} ÁŠ-*su* KUR-*ad*
DIŠ GIŠ.ZI.NA.GIŠIMAR NU E_{11} UGU EN INIM-*šú* GUB-*a*[*z*]
60 DIŠ *ana* GIŠ.GIŠIMAR E_{11}-*ma* SU_{11}.LUM KÚ *ina-an-ziq* É.GAL TA *x* [*y*]
DIŠ GIŠ.IGI.DÙ.GIŠIMAR *nin-du-ud* GIŠ.ŠUB.BA DIN
DIŠ GIŠ.IGI.DÙ.GIŠIMAR *is*-NIN-*šú* GIŠ.ŠUB.BA DIN

DIŠ GIŠ.A.TU.GAB.LIŠ KUD-*is* $ŠAG_4$.BI DÙG.[ ]
DIŠ GIŠ.MA.NU KUD-*is* $ŠAG_4$.BI NU D[ÙG.]
65 DIŠ GIŠ.Ù.KU KUD-*is* $ŠAG_4$.BI [ ]
DIŠ GIŠ.MA+*gunû* KUD-*is* $ŠAG_4$.ḪÚL [ ]
DIŠ GIŠ.MA KUD-*is* *di-nam* [ ]
DIŠ GIŠ.GEŠTIN KUD-*is* $ŠAG_4$.Ḫ[ÚL]
DIŠ GIŠ.NU.ÚR.MA KUD-*is* $ŠAG_4$.[ḪÚL (?)]
70 DIŠ GIŠ.ŠENNUR KUD-*is* Š[AG_4.ḪÚL (?)]
DIŠ GIŠ.ERIN KUD-*is* [ ]
DIŠ GIŠ.ŠUR.MAN KUD-*is* [ ]
DIŠ GIŠ.ŠUR.ŠE KUD-[*is*]

DIŠ GIŠ.TIR *ú-ri*[*d*]
75 DIŠ GIŠ.TIR *ú-rid-ma* [ ]
DIŠ *ana* GIŠ.TIR *ú*-[*rid-ma*]
D[IŠ *ana* GIŠ].TIR [ ]

lines 78–85 broken

Reverse column ii

edge

DIŠ KIŠIB *na-ši* *ina* KI.ŠÚ *iṣ-ṣab-b*[*at*]
DIŠ GIŠ.MAR.GÎD.DA *na-ši* $ŠAG_4$.SÈ.SÈ.KI-*šú* KUR-*ád*
DIŠ GIŠ.KAK+LIŠ.LAL *na-ši* $ŠAG_4$.SÈ.SÈ.KI-*šú* KUR-*ád*
DIŠ MA.SÁ.AB DINGIR *na-ši* *ma-mit* GAB-*su*
5 DIŠ GIŠ.GIŠIMAR *ra-kib-ma* DINGIR *na-ši du-ri lìb-bi* IGI-*mar*
DIŠ GIŠ.GIŠIMAR GIM DINGIR *na-ši da-la-a* ḪU+SI
DIŠ *ma-mit* *na-ši* ZI *tu-ba-a-ti*
DIŠ *sa-ri-ri-i* *na-ši* *ma-mit* *na-ši*
DIŠ *kip-pa-a ki-sa-li-ti it-ta-na-s*[*u*]*k* *gi-ri-e di-nim*
10 DIŠ PA SU IŠ *im-me-lil* *gi-ri-e di-nim*
DIŠ GIŠ.BAN *im-me-lil* *gi-ri-e di-nim*
DIŠ GIŠ.BAN *ú-mal-li* *gi-ri-e di-nim*
DIŠ GIŠ.BAN *id-da-na-gal* KUR-*ti* ŠU TUK-*ši*
DIŠ GIŠ.BAN *na-ši* KUR-*ti* ŠU TUK-*ši* [241]
15 DIŠ GIŠ.BAN *na-ši-ma it-ta-na-suk* ZI.GA ŠU TUK-*ši* [241]
DIŠ GIŠ.BAN *na-ši-ma* GIŠ.BAN-*su* KUD-*ir* $ŠAG_4$.SÈ.SÈ.KI-*šú* NU KUR-*ád* [241]
DIŠ GIŠ.RU *iš-qul* KUR-*ti* ŠU TUK-*ši* [241]
DIŠ *áš-qu-la-lu* *iš-qul* KUR-*ti* ŠU TUK-*ši* [241]
DIŠ GIŠ.KAK.UD.TAG.GA *na-ši* NA.BI *ina* SILA URU-*šú* *šal-míš* LU-*iq* [241]
20 DIS *ina* GI PA-*iṣ* *na-šá-a* *i-maḫ-ḫar* [241]

DIŠ *kap-pi* GAR-*ma* RI.RI-*aš* SUḪUŠ.BI NU GI.NA *ana* IDIM ḪUL.A(?).[*x*] SIG_5 TAG_4-*šú* [241]
ana MAŠ.EN.DÙ Á.ḪUL-*šú* *iš-te-*<*ni*>-*e*[2]-*ma* GAB.<RI>-*šú* *še-ṭu-su* TI-*qí* [241]
DIŠ *kap-pi* GAR-*ma* RI.RI-*aš-ma* *ina* KI GUB-*ma* ZI-*a* NU ZU-*e*
SUḪUŠ.BI NU GI.NA *ina an-ni* SUḪUŠ.BI GI.NA
25 DIŠ *it-bi-ma ip-pa-riš ana* IDIM SIG_5-*šú* *ana* MAŠ.EN.DÙ ḪUL-*šú* TAG_4-*šú*
[*šum*$_4$-*ma*] *ana* KI.ŠÚ *na-du-u ina* KI.ŠÚ È IZI.GAR IGI-*mar* *šum*$_4$-*ma* GIG TI-*uṭ*
[DIŠ *it-ta*]-*nap-raš* NÍG.TUK NÍG.TUK-*šú* MAŠ.EN.DÙ ḪUL-*šú* TAG_4-*šú*
[DIŠ RI.RI-*ma ana x* A]N-*e* KI-*tim* $NU.DIM_4$ *ina im-ṭi-i* DINGIR.MEŠ UŠ.MEŠ-*šú*
GAB.RI-*šú* *še-ṭu-su* TI-*qí*

[241] Ends of lines also preserved on *K.* 2239 (Face B left column).

DIŠ RI.[RI-*ma* Ḫ]A+A-*ma* E_{11} *ni-ziq-ti*
30 DIŠ RI.RI-[*ma* Ḫ]A+A-*ma* NU E_{11} *ana la šu-a-tum i-ḫa-sa-as*
DIŠ RI.RI-*ma* [*ri*]-*it-ta-šú i-ṣa-lap* SUḪUŠ.BI GI.NA

DIŠ *ana* ÍD ŠUB-*ma* [*x x x*] ÍD *ana* KA-*šú* TU-*ub* DUGUD-*ma* MÁŠ *x y i-l*[*i-x*]
DIŠ *ana* ÍD *it-bu-ma* E_{11}-*a* NA.BI NÍG.TUK [TUK-*ši*]
DIŠ EN TÚG-*šú ina* ÍD [*it-b*]*u* NA.BI SUḪUŠ.BI [GI.NA]
35 [DIŠ *ana*] ÍD ŠUB-*ma ana ma-ḫir-ti* [*x x x*] NU ŠE.GA-*šú* APIN-*ma* SUM-*šú ina* É.GA[L]
[DIŠ *ana*] ÍD ŠUB-*ma ana* DA *kid-da-ti* [*x x x*] ŠE.GA-*šú* APIN-*ma* SUM-[*šú x x x x*]
[DIŠ *ana*] ÍD *i-bé-er-ma* SUD-*ma i-la-a* KI.ŠÚ *x* [ ]
DIŠ *ana* ÍD *i-bé-er-ma i-x-y-ma* [ ]
DIŠ *ina* A.MEŠ *qal-lu-ti* GIN.MEŠ [ ]
40 DIŠ *ina* A.MEŠ *ik-lu-ti* GIN.MEŠ *di-nam* DUG[UD]
a-na ku-un-ni u bur-ri i-šá-[*as-su-ú-šú*]
DIŠ *ina* ÍD A.MEŠ *ir-muk* ZI.GA [ ]
DIŠ *ina* ÍD *it-bu-ma e-la-a* *ina-*[*an-ziq*]
DIŠ ÍD *e-bir* MI-*ši* IGI-*mar*
45 DIŠ *ana* ÍD *ú-rid-ma e-la-a* UGU EN INIM-*šú* GUB-*az*
DIŠ TA ÍD *e-la-a* *bu-su-rat ḫa-di-e*
DIŠ *ina* ÍD *ir-muk-ma e-la-a* I.[BÍ].ZA IGI-*mar*
DIŠ ÍD *is-kir* *dan-na-tum* IGI-*mar*
DIŠ ÍD *is-kir-ma ib-tuq* É.BI [*x*] *y z*
50 DIŠ *ina* ÍD NÍG.BÚN.NA^{ḫa} *iṣ-bat ina ni-sat x y z* [ ]
DIŠ *ina* ÍD MUŠ *iṣ-bat* Á.TUK [TUK-*ši* (*?*)]
DIŠ *ina* ÍD Ḫ*A iṣ-bat* $ŠAG_4$.SÈ.SÈ.KI-*šú* KUR-*ad*
DIŠ *ina* ÍD IM *ú-še-la-a* É DÙ-*uš*
DIŠ *ina* ÍD UD.DI GI KÚ *i-qal-lu-šú*
55 DIŠ *ina* ÍD UD.DI *ur-ba-ti* KÚ *i-qal-lu-šú*
DIŠ ÍD *iš-la-a* [*a*]-*di-ra-tu-šú* NU KUR.MEŠ-*šú*
DIŠ ÍD *iš-ta-na-lu-m*[*a ana t*]*a-ba-li* DIM_4 INIM É.GAL
DIŠ *ana* ÍD ŠUB-*ut-*[*ma x y*] GIG DAB-*su*
DIŠ *ina* ÍD *x*[*ina-an-ziq*
60 [DIŠ Í]D EN [*x x x e*]-*bir* KI IGI-*šú* GAR NU KUR-*ad*
[DIŠ *il*]-*pu-ut* MU TUK-*ši*
[DIŠ *is*]-*ki-ir* *mim-mu-šú i-tab-bal*
[DIŠ *ina iš*]-*tin* $ŠAG_4$.BI DÙG.GA DINGIR TUK-*ši*
[DIŠ IG]I *ina an-ni-šú* BA.UG_6
65 [DIŠ *ana*] *ú-rid* *bu-su-rat ḫa-di-e*
[DIŠ *ana* ÍD *ú-rid-ma* M]UŠ IGI DUMU SAG.KAL TUK-*ši*
[DIŠ] *iq-ru-ba-šum-ma iš-ḫi-iṭ* KI IGI-*šú* GAR NU KUR-*ad*
[DIŠ *ana*] *ú-rid* ŠE TUK-*ši*
[DIŠ IG]I NA.BI BA.UG_6
70 [DIŠ] *it-bu* NA.BI BA.UG_6
[ ] *ana kun-ni u bur-ri*
[DIŠ UGU] EN INIM-*šú* GUB-*az*
[DIŠ *mim-m*]*u-šú ana* IGI-*šú* GIN-*ak*
[DIŠ] NÍG.TUK TUK-*ši*
75 [DIŠ] GAB *ni-ziq-ti*
[DIŠ GA]B *ni-ziq-ti*
[DIŠ] NU TUK-*ši*
[DIŠ DAM-*su it*]-*ta-na-a-a-ku*
[DIŠ É D]Ù-*uš*

[DIŠ] *x*

break

Tablet C

Fragment No. 1

K. 7248 + 8339 + 11781 (*cf.* pl. XII). See pp. 288–289 for translation.

left column

break

[*ina-an-z*]*iq*
[I]GI

---

six broken lines

[ ]-*bat-su*
[ ]*ú-na-x*

---

fragments of signs at the end of two more lines.

center column

break

[DIŠ *x n*]*a-ši* *a-ra-an-*[*šú* GAB(*?*)]
DINGIR *lib-ba-ti-šú* [DIRIG (*?*)]
DIŠ GAL *na-ši* DIRIG *lib-ba-a-*[*ti x x x*]
DIŠ LÚ.TUR *na-ši* DIRIG *lib-ba-a-*[*ti x x x*]
x+5 DIŠ UD.SAR *na-ši* DIRIG *lib-ba-a-*[*ti x x x*]
DIŠ AŠ+ME *na-ši* DIRIG *lib-ba-a-*[*ti x x x*]
DIŠ PA.AN *na-ši* I.BÍ.[ZA IGI-*mar*]
DIŠ NA_4 *na-ši* NAM D[U (?)]
DIŠ GÍR *na-ši* Š[AG_4.BI]
x+10 DIŠ GÍR *na-ši-ma* GÍR [ ]
DIŠ GÍR *ina* GÚ-*šú* [ ] *x y z x* ḪAR
[DIŠ *x*] *ina* SAG.DU-*šú na-ši* ZI.KA.KA TUK-*ši*
DIŠ SU_{11}.LUM *ina* SAG.DU-*šú na-ši* *i-dir-tú*
DIŠ ḪA.ŠUM *ina* SAG.DU-*šú na-ši* Á.TUK TUK-*ši*
x+15 DIŠ ḪUR.SAG *ina* SAG.DU-*šú na-ši* GAB.RI NU TUK-*ši*
DIŠ MUN *ina* SAG.DU-*šú na-ši* KAK É-*šú* URU *ú-sa-ḫar*
DIŠ MUN *a-su-ri* É-*šú* <*na-ši*> E.SIR ZI-*šú ina* URU *i-qí-bir*
DIŠ MUN *na-ši* KA.MEŠ-*šú ú-šam-za-qu-šú*
DIŠ *ina* SILA UZU *na-ši* UZU.BI NU.DÙG.GA
x+20 [DIŠ] *ina* SILA *še-am na-ši* UGU EN.INIM-*šú* GUB-*az*
[DIŠ *ina* SILA] KAŠ.SAG *na-ši* $ŠAG_4$.BI DÙG.GA
[DIŠ *ina* SILA] ŠIM *na-ši* *na-za-qu* GAR-*šú*
[DIŠ *ina* SILA] A.MEŠ *na-ši* ḪUL-*šú* GAB
[DIŠ *ina* SILA BA]NŠUR *na-ši* *ina šib-sat* KA-*šú* UG_6
x+25 [DIŠ *ina* SILA]*x-ta* *na-ši* i_{11}-*šár-rum*
[DIŠ *ina* SILA *x*]-*ta* *na-ši* *i-dan-nin*(text: *úr*)
[DIŠ *ina* SILA *x y*] *na-ši* UKU_2
[DIŠ *na*]-*ši* *me-sir* GIŠ.NÁ GIG DA[B-*su*]
[DIŠ *na-ši*] MU DUGUD NA[ ]
x+30 [DIŠ *na-ši*] MU DUGUD NA[ ]

break

right column

break

[DIŠ] KA.MEŠ-*šú x* [ ]
[DIŠ] KA.MEŠ-*šú x* [ ]
[DIŠ] KA.MEŠ-*šú it-tab-*[*la*]

DIŠ DINGIR *ana* IGI NA GUB-*ma x y* [ ]
x+5 DIŠ DINGIR *ina* KI.GUB-*šú i-ku*[*n*]
DIŠ DINGIR *ina* KI.GUB-*šú ut-tak-ki-r*[*u*]

DIŠ DINGIR *ana* IGI-*šú* GIN-*ak x* [ ]
DIŠ DINGIR *ana* IGI-*šú* GUD.UD *meš*-[*ru*]
DIŠ DINGIR *ana* IGI-*šú i-za-mur x* [ ]
x+10 DIŠ DINGIR *ana* IGI NA *i-bak-ki x* [ ]
DIŠ DINGIR *ana* IGI NA *ut-ta-za*-[*am*]
DIS DINGIR *ana* IGI NA *i-za-na-aḫ* DIN[GIR]
DIŠ DINGIR *ana* IGI NA *ina* AŠ.TE *a-šib* [ ]
KI.DÚR GI [ ]
x+15 DIŠ DINGIR *ana* IGI NA *ik-ru*-[*ub*]
šib-sat DINGIR TUK-[*ši*]
DIŠ DINGIR LÚ *iz-zur* DINGIR *i*[*k-ri-bi-šú*]
su-ul-lam-ma ku [ ]
DIŠ DINGIR GIŠ.[GU.ZA (?)]
x+20 DIŠ DINGIR *i-b*[*u-*]
DIŠ DINGIR GIŠ.ŠÚ.[A]
DIŠ DINGIR K[A]
DIŠ DINGIR L[Ú]
x+25 DIŠ DI[NGIR]

break

Tablet C

Fragment No. 2

K. 12641 (*cf.* pl. X). See p. 290 for translation.

Face A—left column (probably obverse column i)

break

[DIŠ *ina* G]IŠ.NÁ *a-šib x* [*y*] ŠU TI
[DIŠ *ina*] *li-ti-šú* GUB-*az*
[ ] *i-z/sa-mur/ḫir-šú*

edge

right column (probably column ii)

break

DIŠ GIŠ.BAL *na*-[*ši-ma*(*?*)]
DIŠ GIŠ.BAL *na-ši-ma ú-x*-[*y*]
DIŠ GU *ú-ṣa-bit x* [ ]

edge

Face B—right column (probably reverse column i)

DIŠ LUGAL *x*[ ]
DIŠ NA [ ]
DIŠ [ ]

break

left column (probably reverse column ii)

[DIŠ] *ana*(*?*) DINGIR URU-*šú* KU.NU.MEŠ
[*ra-š*]*i-e* ÌR *u* $GEME_2$
[DIŠ DINGIR] URU-*šú* KI-*šú* $DUG_4.DUG_4$
[ ] *ana* LÚ
[DIŠ DINGIR] URU-*šú ki-i* DINGIR LÚ
[ ] *x i*-[ ]

break

Tablet C

Fragment No. 3

K. 9038 (*cf.* pl. XIII). See p. 290 for translation.

right column

DIŠ *x* [*na-ši*]
DIŠ GI [*na-ši*]

DIŠ IM [*na-ši*]
DIŠ SIG_4 *n*[*a-ši*]
x+5 DIŠ ESIR *n*[*a-ši*]
DIŠ *tir-ti* $UDU.NITA_2$ *na-š*[*i*]
DIŠ ḪUR.BAT $ŠAG_4$-*šú na-ši-ma x* [ ]
DIŠ ḪUR.BAT $ŠAG_4$-*šú na-ši-ma ú-šá-á*[*š-*]

DIŠ *ḫa-ṣi-in-na* ÍL-*ma* KI [ ]
x+10 DIŠ *ḫa-ṣi-in-na* ÍL-*ma ana* SILA È *x*[ ]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* Ê *ip-pul* [ ]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* GÚ.GAR.RI É *ip-pul a-bu-us-s*[*u*]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* KÁ *ip-pul ṣa-bat* [ ]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* É.DINGIR *ip-pul ṣa-bat* [ ]
x+15 DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* $BARA_2$ *ip-pul ṣa-bat* [ ]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma mim-ma ka-la-ma ú-šal-pit dan-nu* UG[U]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* BÀD *ana na-pa-li e-li* NA.BI *dan-nu* [ ]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma* BÀD KUD-*is* È [ ]
DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma ana* EDIN *il-lak* [ ]
[DIŠ] *ik ta* [ ]

break

left column

break

[ ]-*su*
[ ] $BA.UG_6$
[ ] IGI
[ ] *x*

---

y+5 [ ] *an*
[ ] *x*
[ ] *x*
[ ]ŠA[G_4.B]I DÙG.GA
[ ] *tam-ṭ*]*a-a-tum*
y+10 [ ] KI.MIN
[ ] KI.MIN
[ ] KI.MIN
[ ] KI.M]IN
[ ] KI.MI]N

break

NOT ASSIGNED FRAGMENTS

Fragment I

No. 1—*K.* 6768 (*cf.* pl. XIII). See pp. 290–291 for translation.

left column

break

[ ] *x y z*
[K]UR-*ad* ÂŠ
[ ]KUR-*ad* ÂŠ
[ ] *ana* IGI-*šú* GIN
x+5 [ ] *i-ḫad-du*
[ ]*x-šú* ḪÚL
[ ] *x u*

edge

right column

break

[DIŠ] ḪU+SI NA.BI *i*[*š(?)-*]
[DIŠ *x* (*y*) NU ZU ḪU+SI NÍG.TUK [ ]

DIŠ NA *ina* MÁŠ.GE$_6$-*šú ana* ^{d}EŠ$_4$+DAR UM [ ]
DIŠ *ana* DINGIR UM *maḫ-ḫu-t*[*a*]
x+5 DIŠ *ana* LUGAL UM ŠU LUGAL KUR [ ]
DIŠ *ana* DUGUD UM DUGUD *ú*-[ ]
DIŠ *ana* NIN.DINGIR.RA UM EN UŠ [ ]
DIŠ *ana* DUMU.SAL DINGIR-*šú* UM *ub/p*-[ ]
DIŠ *ana* DAM.LUGAL UM KUR *ina* D[U]
x+10 DIŠ *ana* DUMU.SAL.LUGAL UM SILIM MU.[1.KAM]
DIŠ *ana* DAM.LÚ UM KUR *ina* [ ]

edge

No. 2—*K.* 6824 (*cf.* pl. XIII). See p. 291 for translation.

break

[DIŠ *ana* DU]MU MAN-*ma* [UM]
[DIŠ *ana* K]I.SIKIL UM *x*[ ]
[DIŠ *ana*] SAL ŠU.GI UM *si-x*[ ]
[DIŠ] *ana* GURUŠ.TUR UM *ina-an-ziq // ana* [ ]
x+5 [DIŠ] *ana* LÚ.TUR UM SILIM MU.[1.KAM]
ana U[KU$_2$] *me-*[*si*]*-ru dan-nu* DAB-*su x* [ ]
DIŠ DAM-[*su*] UM-*šú* DAM-*su x* [ ]
DIŠ NIN-*su* UM-*šú* *ma-m*[*it*]
DIŠ A[D].DAM-*šú* UM DU(?)[ ]
x+10 [DIŠ U[M]

break

No. 3—*K.* 6705 (*cf.* pl. XIII). See p. 291 for translation.

edge

DIŠ *ana* A.DAM.SA.ḪI.A UM *šib-*[*sat* DINGIR]
DIŠ *ana šá-lam-ti* UM SAL.[ḪUL/SIG$_5$ IGI (?)]
DIŠ *ana* DINGIR UM AN.[GUB.BA]
DIŠ *ana* LUGAL UM *x* [ ]
5 DIŠ *ana* DUGUD U[M]
DIŠ *ana* NIN.DINGIR.RA [UM]
DIŠ *ana* DUMU.SAL DINGIR-[*šú* UM]
DIŠ *ana* DUMU.S[AL.LUGAL UM]
DIŠ *ana* DA[M.LUGAL/LÚ UM]

break

Fragment II

K. 9945 + 10456 + 12590 (*cf.* pl. XI). See pp. 291–292 for translation.

right column

break

DIŠ TÚG.Í[B.L]Á P[A]
DIŠ GU PA-*a*[*ṣ*]
DIŠ TÚG.GÚ.È PA-*aṣ* [ ]
DIŠ TÚG.ÍB.LÁ PA-*aṣ* [ ]
x+5 DIŠ TÚG.SAGŠU PA-*iṣ* [ ]
DIŠ TÚG.BAR.SIG PA-*iṣ* [ ]

DIŠ ŠE *i-ḫaš-*[*šal*]
DIŠ ŠE.ŠEŠ *i-ḫaš-*[*šal*]
DIŠ ŠE.IN.NU.ḪA *i-*[*ḫaš-šal*]
x+10 DIŠ ŠE.GIG.MEŠ *i-ḫ*[*aš-šal*]
DIŠ ŠE.ZÍZ.A.AN *i-ḫa*[*š-šal*]
DIŠ ŠE.GÚ.GAL *i-ḫaš-š*[*al*]

DIŠ ŠE.GÚ.TUR *i-ḫaš-šal*[ ]

DIŠ ZÍD.DA *i-ṭe₄-en* *a-*[*ma-su*]
x+15 DIŠ ZÍD.DA *i-nab-bi* *a-*[*ma-su*]
DIŠ [NIN]DA.ḪAR.RA *i-sà-mud* *a-ma-su x*[ ]
[DIŠ N]A₄.ḪAR *i-šá-ti-ip* *x* [ ]

DIŠ NA *ina* MÁŠ.GE₆-*šú* KI UKKIN *ṣal-ta* DÙ-[*uš*]
DIŠ KI AD-*šú* LÚ.NE DÙ-*uš* AB.[BA-*ta*]
x+20 DIŠ KI AD.AD-*šú* LÚ.NE DÙ-*uš* [ ]
DIŠ KI AMA-*šú* LÚ.NE DÙ-*uš* [ ]
DIŠ KI AMA-*šú* UG₆ LÚ.NE DÙ-*uš* [ ]
DIŠ KI ŠEŠ-*šú* LÚ.NE DÙ-*uš* [ ]
DIŠ KI ŠEŠ-*šú* UG₆ LÚ.NE DÙ-*uš* [ ]
x+25 DIŠ KI DAM-*šú* MIN DAM-*su ina ṣal-*[*ti*]
DIŠ KI DAM-*šú* UG₆ MIN *ik-*[ ]
DIŠ KI ŠEŠ.AD-*šú* MIN *x*[ ]
DIŠ KI DUMU-*šú* MIN DUMU-*šú* [ ]
DIŠ KI DUMU-*šú* UG₆ MIN D[UMU-*šú*]
x+30 DIŠ KI DUMU.SAL-[*šú* MIN]

break

left column

break

[ ] IGI
[ ] IGI-*mar*
[ ] TUK-*ši*
[ ] KA+BAR
x+5 [ ] KA+ME
[ ] GUB
[ ]-*su*
[ ] KA+ME
[*i-s*]*a-ḫar*
x+10 [ ]*x-ub*
[ ]*x zi*
[*i-da-b*]*u-ub*
[ ] *x* KA+BAR
[P]AP.ḪAL
x+15 [U]Š.MEŠ
[ ] *x*

break

Fragment III

K. 10852 (*cf.* pl. XI). See p. 292 for discussion.

break

DIŠ TÚG G[Ú.È]
DIŠ TÚG Í[B.LÁ]
DIŠ TÚG N[A. *x*]
DIŠ TÚG GÚ.[È]
x+5 DIŠ TÚG ÍB.[LÁ]
DIŠ TÚG NA. *x* [ ]
DIŠ TÚG GÚ.È [ ]
DIŠ TÚG ÍB.LA[L]
DIŠ TÚG NA. *x* [ ]
x+10 [DIŠ TÚG] GÚ.È [ ]
[DIŠ TÚG Í]B.LAL [ ]
[DIŠ TÚG NA].*x* [ ]

break

Fragment IV

K. 9812 (*cf.* pl. XIII). See p. 292 for translation.

break

[DIŠ TÚG] *x y* [ ]
[DIŠ TÚG]*x-šú* // DIŠ TÚG-*su iš-ru-uṭ tam-ṭa-a-t*[*um*]
[DIŠ TÚG]TAG$_4$-*šú* // DIŠ TÚG ZAG-*šú ik-ki-is si-ḫi-i*[*l* UZU]
[DIŠ TÚG *ik-k*]*i-is di-nu x* [ ]
x+5 [DIŠ TÚG]-*ka-sa* NÍG.TUK.BI [ ]
[DIŠ TÚG] *aš* // DIŠ TÚG *ina na*(*?*)-*rit-tum ik-ki-is* NAM.NE.[RU]
[DIŠ TÚG *ik-ki*]-*is* KA *i-dir-tum i-maḫ-ḫar-*[*šu*]
[DIŠ TÚG *ik-ki-i*]*s* I.BÍ.ZA IGI-*m*[*ar*]
[DIŠ TÚG] Á.TUK IGI

---

x+10 [DIŠ] *e-la-a-tim* GIN.GIN-*ak*
[ ] *x sa*
[ ] *in-na-sa-aḫ*
[ ] *x ka-lu-u* UD.DU-*šú*

[DIŠ] *i-lab-bi-in*
x+15 [ ] DINGIR TUK
[U]Š-*šú*
[ ] *at*
[ ] *x*

break

Fragment V

K. 7068 (*cf.* pl. XI). See p. 293 for translation.

break

[DIŠ] *a-lak* [ ]
[DIŠ] KI.KAL *x* [ ]
[DIŠ *la-m*]*i e-mu-qí gaš-ra-a-*[*te*]
[DIŠ *la-m*]*i nam-ra-ṣa i-pa-*[*x-y*]
x+5 [DIŠ *la-m*]*i ina* LÁL.MEŠ GIN.[GIN-*ak*]
[DIŠ *la*]-*mi* NAM.ERIM$_2$.MA *la-mi*
[DIŠ *l*]*a-mi* NA.BI *ḫi-da-tu-šú ma-a*^{2}-*da*

[DIŠ DINGIR *x x x*]-*ma i-qer-ru-ub ina* IM.RI.A-*šú* NU DÚR-*ab*
[DIŠ DINGIR GI] *la-biš ár-ni* LÚ *it-ba-lu*
x+10 [DIŠ DINGIR NA$_4$] *la-biš ár-ni* LÚ *it-ba-lu*
[DIŠ DINGIR I]M *la-biš ár-ni* LÚ *it-ba-lu*
DIŠ DINGIR GI *ḫa-lip ár-ni* LÚ *it-ba-lu*
DIŠ DINGIR NA$_4$ *ḫa-lip ár-ni* LÚ *it-ba-lu*
DIŠ DINGIR IM *ḫa-lip ár-ni* LÚ [*it-ba*]-*lu*
x+15 DIŠ DINGIR GI *a-pir á*[*r-n*]*i* [LÚ *it-ba-lu*]
DIŠ DINGIR NA$_4$ *a-pir* [ ]
DIŠ DINGIR IM *a-pir* [ ]

DIŠ NA *ina* MÁS.GE$_6$-*šú* NA KA+*x-šú* [ ]
DIŠ LUGAL KA+*x-š*[*ú*]
x+20 DIŠ DUGUD K[A+*x*]
DIŠ UZU [ ]
DIŠ DINGIR *u* LU[GAL]
DIŠ *x y* [ ]

break

ROYAL DREAMS

K. 273 + 1944b + 9064 (*cf.* p. XIII). See pp. 293–294 for translation.

Obverse (column i ?)

[ ] *si* [ ]
[ ] *i(?)* [ ]
[ANŠ]E.KUR.R[A]
[*u*]*b(?)-tu* [ ]
5 [*i*]*na ku-tál-l*[*i*]
[*m*]*a-da-ti ina* ŠU-*š*[*ú*]
[ ]*ma-da-ti ina* GÌR-*šú* [ ]
[ ] *mim-ma la-a*ᵓ*-šú* [ ]
[ ] *mim-ma la-a*ᵓ*-šú* [ ]
10 [ ] ᵈNIN.PÉŠ UG_6 *ina* SILA IGI [ ]
[ ] TÚG.UD.UD *la-bi-iš ina* KA-*šú* [ ]

[DIŠ] $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* KI SAL *ṣa-lil* [ ]
[DIŠ] $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* KA+NUN SAL [ ]
[DIŠ] $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú tu-li-e x* [ ]
15 [DIŠ] $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* SAL *tu-*[*li-e-ša*]
[DIŠ] $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* KI [ ]
[DIŠ] $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* [ ]
[DIŠ] $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-[*šú*]
[DIŠ] $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.[GE_6-*šú*]
20 [DIŠ BA]RA_2 *ina* M[ÁŠ.GE_6-*šú*]
[DIŠ] $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* UG_6 *i*[*na*]
[DIŠ] $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* TI.L[A]
[DIŠ] $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* UG_6 *ina*[ ]
[DIŠ] $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* UG_6 *ina*[ ]
25 [DIŠ] $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* UG_6 *ina*[ ]
[DIŠ] $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* UG_6 *ina*[ ]
[DIŠ] $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú ip-ru* [ ]
[DIŠ] $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú ri-is-*[*na*]
[DIŠ $BARA_2$ *ina*] MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* UZU.ŠA[Ḫ]
30 [DIŠ $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú*] UZU.*x*[ ]

break

Reverse

[DIŠ] $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* UŠ [ ]
[DIŠ] $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* UZU.UR.ZÍR *ina* Š[U]
[DIŠ] $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* UZU.ŠAḪ *ina* G[ÌR]
[DIŠ] $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* Ì.ŠAḪ *ina* GÌR[ ]
5 DIŠ $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* UZU.UR.ZÍR *ina* GÌR [ ]
DIŠ $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* TA ÙR ŠUB *t*[*a-*]
DIŠ $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú pu-zu-ur* SAL [ ]
DIŠ $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú pu-zu-ur* NÍ [ ]
DIŠ $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* TÚG *ḫa-a*ᵓ*-a* [ ]
10 DIŠ $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* UR.ZÍR UG_6 TI-*ma* [ ]
DIŠ $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* ᵈNIN.PÉŠ UG_6 *ina* S[ILA]
DIŠ $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú ú-ma-me* UG_6.MEŠ *x* [ ]
DIŠ $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú ṣur-ri ib/p-*[ ]
DIŠ $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* UŠ KÀŠ *ana* UGU-*šú* [ ]
15 DIŠ $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* SAL KÀŠ *ana* UGU-*šú* [ ]
DIŠ $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* UR.ZÍR KÀŠ *ana* UGU-*šú* [ ]
DIŠ $BARA_2$ *ina* MÁŠ.GE_6-*šú* ŠAḪ KÀŠ *ana* UGU-*šú* [ ]

ÉN ᵈUTU LUGAL AN-*e u* KI-*tim* [ ]
ᵈUTU DINGIR *el-lu* [ ]

20 [ ] UT *ana-ku* NINNA A NINNA *a-ta-b/pal* [ ]
[ ] *pa da* [ ]
break

II. TABLETS WITH RITUALS

Tablet I

Obverse column i; reverse columns i, ii: *K.* 3758 (*cf.* pl. I). See p. 297 for translation.

Obverse column i

[ÉN *Zi*]-*qi-qu zi-qi-qu* ^{d}MA.MÚ DINGIR *šá* [ ]
[URU] *A-ga-dè*^{ki} *áš-b*[*a-ta*]
[URU] *A-ga-dè*^{ki} *mi-na-a te-*[*zi-ib*]
[MÁ]Š.GE$_6$.MEŠ *par-da-a-ti* [ ]
5 [*ú*]-*pa-šar-ši-na* [ ]
URU ≪^{m}≫ *A-ga-dè*^{ki} *ki-i* [ ]
ina ra-me-ni-šú-ma t[*u-*]
^{d}UTU *da-a-*[*a-nu*]
TAR-*is* EŠ.BAR [ ]
10 MÁŠ.GE$_6$.MEŠ [ ]
i-šá-riš [ ]
break

Reverse column ii
break
ana [ ].MEŠ *ana* ŠAG$_4$ [ ]

DIŠ NA *ina* MÁŠ.GE$_6$-*šú ana* [ ]
DUB.1.KAM ÉŠ.[KÁR]
KUR ^{md}SÁR.DÙ.A MAN [ ]

Tablet X

K. 4103 + 13330 (*cf.* pl. I). See p. 301 for translation.

break
[ ] ḪUL I[M]
[M]ÁŠ.G[E$_6$]

[UD-*u*]*m* MÁŠ.GE$_6$ *e-mu-ru* [ ]
[ ] BAL-*qí* GÌR-*šú ana* KI GAR-*a*[*n*]
x+5 [UDU].NI[TA$_2$] *mi-ḫe-e* GÍR IM [ ]
[*ik*]-*ka-l*[*u mi-t*]*u-ti u šú-nu ik-k*[*a-lu*]
[*ina*] GE$_6$ *an-ni-i* [ ]
[*ki*]-*ma na-qab* [GÌR-*ia ana a-s*]*i-*[*d*]*i-ia* [ ]
[MÁŠ].GE$_6$ *šá a-mu-r*[*u*]

---

x+10 [INI]M.INIM.MA MÁ[Š.GE$_6$]

[D]Ù.DÙ.BI GÌR-*šú šá* Á.[ ]
u BÚR-*ab ana* Á-*šú 2-i* BAL-*ma* [ ]

DIŠ MÁŠ.GE$_6$ *ina* ŠAG$_4$ MÁŠ.GE$_6$ IGI-*ma i*[*p-šur*]
ana SIG$_5$ *u* ḪUL [ ]

---

x+15 DIŠ NA MÁŠ.GE$_6$.MEŠ *par-da-a-ti i*[*ṭ-ṭul*]
DUB.10.KAM [ ]
KUR ^{md}SÁR.DÙ.A [ ]

NOT ASSIGNED FRAGMENTS

Fragment I

K. 8171 + 11041 + 11684 + 14058 (*cf.* pl. I). See pp. 302 f., 303 for translation.

break

[ ] UŠ D[I]
[ ] KA MU *z/g*[*i*]
[ ]*x* A NI MU MU T[I]
[LA]G GIM NU KI UZU.NUN.K[I]

---

x+5 DÙ.DÙ.BI LAG GIŠ.ZI *šá ina* ^{d}UTU.ŠÚ.A GAR [ ]
ana IGI ^{d}UTU ÉN *3-šú ana* IGI NÁ ŠID-*nu ana* ÍD ŠUB-*m*[*a* BÚR]

DIŠ LÚ *ina mu-ši-ti-šú* MÁŠ.GE$_6$ ḪUL-*ta* IGI-*ma uš-t*[*a-dir*]
ina še-ri ḫar-bi ina te-bi-šú la-am GÌR-*šú ana* K[I GAR-*nu*]
1 GIŠ.IGI.KAK GIŠ.GIŠIMAR *šá* IM.SI.SÁ TI-*qí* SÍG.GA.[ZUM.AG]
x+10 NIGIN$_2$-*mi* Ì+GIŠ *ta-ṣab-bu nu-ra ta-qad ana nu-ri ki-a-a*[*m* DUG$_4$.GA]
^{d}*Gi-bil* EN ḪUŠ KALA.GA *tap-pe-e* ^{d}UTU LUGA[L]
šur-[*b*]*a-ta ba-il-la-ta ina* DINGIR.MEŠ ŠE[Š.MEŠ-*ka*]
kul-lat MÁŠ.GE$_6$.MU *šá ana-ku x* [ ]
at-ta ti-du-u a-mu-ru ana-ku [ ]

---

x+15 DIŠ LÚ *ina* GE$_6$ MÁŠ.GE$_6$ ḪUL-*ta* [*i*]*ṭ-*[*ṭu*]*l x* [ ]
1-*niš-ma i-pa-šá-aš ana* ^{d}UTU.È.A UGU DUK.LA D[U] *x* [ ]
ana kir-ba-nu ki-a-am DUG$_4$.GA *kir-ba-nu ina kir-ṣi-k*[*a*]
[*k*]*ir-ṣi ka-ri-iṣ ina kir-ṣi-ia kir-iṣ-ka ka-ri-iṣ*
[MÁŠ].GE$_6$ *ma-la iṭ-ṭú-lu ana kir-ba-ni i-pa-áš-šar*
x+20 [GI]M *kir-ba-nu ka-a-šá ana* A.MEŠ *a-nam-du-ka-ma*
[*taḫ*]*-ḫa-ra-ma-ṭu tap-pa-sa-as-su* ḪUL MÁŠ.GE$_6$ *ma-la* IGI.GÁL
[*lu*] *ḫal-qat lu na-ḫar-mu-ṭa-at* 1 ŠU KAS.GÍD *ina* SU.MU *lu ne-sa-at*
[*ana* LA]G DUG$_4$.GA-*ma ana* A.MEŠ ŠUB-*ma i-ti-iq-šu*

[DIŠ LÚ *ina* MÁ]Š.GE$_6$-*šú* MÁŠ.GE$_6$ ḪUL-[*ta*] *iṭ-ṭul ana*(*!*) NU DI.DI-*šú*

Fragment II

Sm 1069 (*cf.* pl. I). See p. 300 for translation.

left column

[MÁŠ].GE$_6$
[ ] RAT
[GAR]-*nu*
[NU T]E-*e*

---

x+5 [ ]*x*

[ ]*x*

break

right column

ina IGI *nu-ri* [ ]
ana nu-ri i-k[*ar-rab*]

DIŠ NA MÁŠ.GE$_6$ *ḫa-ṭ*[*i-ta*]
la-am GÌR-*šú ana* KI GAR-*n*[*u*]
5 MÁŠ.GE$_6$ *aṭ-ṭú-l*[*u*]
dam-qat-ma dam-[*qat*]
i-gir-ri ra-ma-ni-šú[ ]

DIŠ KI.MIN *la-am* ^{d}UTU.[È.A]
LÚ *ina* KI.NÁ-*šú mi* [ ]
NÍG.NA *liš-kun* ZÍD.[MAD.GÁ]
lip-šur ki-a-am liq-[*bi*]
dam-qat GIM *aṭ-ṭú-*[*lu*]
i-na SAR NU KÚR *x* [ ]
ù MÁŠ.GE$_6$ *a-na* [ ]

[ ]
break

Fragment III

K. 8583 (*cf.* pl. I). See p. 298 for translation.

left column

ends of three lines

right column

ana IGI *nu-ri* GI *ki-iṣ-ri i-na gi(?) lu zi* [TÚG.SÍG]
ZAG-*šú i-bat-taq-ma ana* IGI *nu-ri ú-kal ki-a-am* DUG$_4$.[GA]
um-ma šu-ma ^{d}PA+KU *tap-pe-e* ^{d}UTU *at-*[*ta*]
da-a-a-na-ta di-ni di-in MÁŠ.GE$_6$ *an-ni-*[*tú*]
šá ina ba-ra-ar-ti qab-li-ti šat ur-r[*i*]
ib-bab-lam-ma šá at-ta Ì.ZU *ana-ku la i-du*
šum-ma dam-qat du-muq-šá a-a i-ši-ṭa-an-[*ni*]
šum-ma ḪUL ḪUL-*šá a-a ik-šu-dan-*[*ni*]
la ia-ut-tu-un ši-i ki-ma GI *an-nu-u na-aṭ-pu-*[*ma*]
ana KI-*šú* NU GUR *u* TÚG.SÍG *an-ni-tú ina* TÚG-*ia bat-*[*qat-ma*]
ana TÚG *ḫi-bi* GIM *ib-tu-qu-ma* NU GUR ḪUL MÁŠ.GE$_6$ *an-ni-*[*ti*]
šá ina ba-ra-ar-ti qab-li-ti šat ur-[*ri ib-bab-la*(*m*)]
la ia-tu-un ši-i IGI *x* [ ]
GI *ana* 2-*šú i-ḫa-mi-i*[*š*]
ki-a-am DUG$_4$.G[A]
x y [ ]

[ ]
break

Fragment IV

K. 3333 (*cf.* pl. II). See p. 301 for translation.

End of first column of reverse, part of anepigraph fourth column preserved.

break
[ ] *lu dam-*[ ]
KA.SAR MÁŠ.GE$_6$ ḪUL BÚR.RU.DA.KÁ[M]

---

ana IGI ^{d}UTU ŠU.ÍL.LA ŠID-*nu-ma* BÚ[R]

DIŠ NA MÁŠ.GE$_6$ *iṭ-ṭul la ú-kal lu* MÁŠ.GE$_6$ *la* B[ÚR(?)]
4 *uṭ-ṭe-e-ti šá* Ú.PI.TA.PI.PI *ana* IGI IZI ŠUB-*ma*
ina SAG-*šú* GAR-*ma* SIG$_5$

ÉN *ta-tap-ḫa* ^{d}UTU *ina* KUR.GIŠ.ERIN
ri-šu-nik-ka DINGIR.MEŠ *ḫa-da-tak-ka a-me-*[*l*]*ut-tú*
na-šak-ka DUMU LÚ.ḪAL GIŠ.ERIN SAL *al-mat-tú* ZÍD.MAD.GÁ
la-pu-un-tú Ì+GIŠ *šá-ru-u ina šá-ru-ti-šú na-ši* UDU.SILA$_4$
ana-ku na-šá-ka-ak-ku LAG *bi-nu-ut* ZU+AB
LAG *bi-nu-ut* ZU+AB *at-ta-ma*
ina qir-ṣi-ia ga-ri-iṣ qir-iṣ-ka
[*i*]*na qir-ṣi-ka ga-ri-iṣ qir-ṣi*

x+15 [*i*]*na* NÍ-*ia ba-líl* NÍ-*ú-ka ina* NÍ-*ka ba-líl* NÍ [242]
[*k*]*i-ma at-ta* LAG *ana* A.MEŠ ŠUB-*ma*

Fragment V

K. 5175 + 6001 (*cf.* pl. II). See note 205 for translation.

left column

break
[ ] *x y* A.NI
[I]M.TA.È
[ ].GIM ḪÉ.EN.SIKIL
[ ] ḪÉ.IM.TA.GUB

x+5 [INIM.INIM.MA MÁŠ.GE$_6$.ḪUL BÚR].RU.DA.KÂM

[ ] *x* DA.ME.EN
[ ] *x*.MU BAR.RE.EN
[ ] *x ga aš tu tum*
[^{d}]DA.MU ŠAG$_6$.GA.A

x+10 [Í]L-*ma* BÚR-*ir*

[N]U.DI.DI.E.NE
[ ] *x* DUG$_4$.GA.MU
break

right column

break
[DIN]GIR(?)-*šú u* DINGIR *x* [ ]

DIŠ [ ] *x ni ti* [ ]
ÉN [*x x k*]*ir-ba-an ina kir-ṣi-ka ka-ri-*[*iṣ kir-ṣi-ia*]
ina ki[*r-ṣi-i*]*a ka-ri-iṣ ki-ri-i*[*ṣ-ka*]
x+5 *kir-b*[*a-an x* (*x*)] ḪUL EN.NUN.^{d}USAN EN.NUN.MURU[B.BA.AN]
EN.NUN.UD.Z[AL.LI] *a-mu-ru a-tam-ma-ru* AD.MU UG$_6$ *a-mu-*[*ru*]
AMA.MU *mi-ta a-mu-ru* ^{d}UTU LUGAL IGI IDIM IGI NU[N IGI]
LÚ.UG$_6$ IGI LÚ.TI IGI NÍG.ZU NU.ZU IGI *ana* KUR.NU.ZU G[IN *x*]
NÍG.LA NU.ZU *a-tak-*[*k*]*a-lu* TÚG.NU.ZU *ti*(*?*) KAL [*-šú*] [243]
x+10 *ki-ma ka-šá-ma ana* [A.MEŠ *a*]*-nam-du-ka-ma tam-maḫ-ḫa-*[*ḫu*]
tap-pa-as-sa-su [ ] *ana* KI-*ka* NU GUR [ ]
ḪUL MÁŠ.GE$_6$ *an-n*[*i-ti -ṭ*]*u a-na* A.MEŠ *l*[*i-*]
lim-ma-ḫi-iḫ šu-[ ]
li-bir Í[D]
x+15 BE-*si* [ ]
MÁ[Š.GE$_6$]
break

Fragment VI

Sm 543 (*cf.* pl. I). See p. 297 for discussion.

break
[ ]*x* N[A]
[*x* GI[M]
[ ]NA GIM[ ]
[ ]*x* DINGIR.RI.E.NE [ ]

[242] *KAR* 252 iii: 27 adds here: .MU
[243] Restored after *KAR* 252 II: 6.

x+5 [ ]*x* DINGIR.RI.E.NE [ ]
[*a*]-*na-ku* ĦÉ.EN.SI[G$_5$]

[INIM.IN]IM.MA MÁŠ.GE$_6$ ĦUL [ ]

[ ] GIŠ.ŠINIG GIŠ AŠ *x* [ ]
[ ] *x* KU *y*[ ] *z* NA [ ]

break

EXCERPTS

Excerpt I

79-7-8, 77 (*cf.* pl. II). See pp. 300 f. for translation.

Obverse

ÉN *šu-ut-ti dam-qa-at e-gir-ru-ú-a da-mi-iq*
ma-ḫar ^{d}XXX *u* ^{d}UTU *dam-qa // ma-ḫar* ^{d}XXX *u* ^{d}UTU *dam-qa*
ma-ḫar ^{d}XXX *u* ^{d}UTU *dam-qa // ina qí-bit šar-ra-tú* ^{d}NIN.LÍL
ša ina ba-lu-uš-ša ši-mat ma-a-ti la iš-šim-mu
aš-kun du-un-qu lu da-mi-iq-tum // aš-kun GÌR *ina* KI *lu da-mi-iq-ti*
ša UD-*me lu da-am-qa-nim // ša* ITI *lu da-am-qa-nim*
ša MU.AN.NA *lu da-am-qa-nim ša it-me-a-am li-ip-šu-ra*
ša i-zi-ir-am li-ip-paṭ-ra na-šu-ú lid-di-na la mu-du-ú ana ŠU^{2}.MU *liš-kun*
ša qar-ra-du ^{d}AMAR.UD DUMU ^{d}*É-a ana-ku*
lum-ni li-mu-ra-an-ni-ma pu-uz-ra li-mi-id
ina lìb-bi lum-ni ana ĦUL-*tim a-a ab-bal-kit*
^{d}AMAR.UD DUMU.SAG ZU+AB.GE$_4$ SA$_6$.GÁ TAG.TAG.BI ZA.A.KÁM ZI.AN.NA ĦÉ.PÀD
ZI.KI.A ĦÉ.PÀD

INIM.INIM.MA MÁŠ.GE$_6$ ĦUL BÚR.RU.DA.KÁM

AG.AG.BI *e-nu-ma* LÚ MÁŠ.GE$_6$ IGI.DU$_8$-*ma la-ma* GÌR-*šú ana* KI *iš-ku-nu*
ina SAG GIŠ.NÁ TU$_5$ ŠU^{2}-*šú* ÉN *3*(!)-*šú* ŠID-*ma* SIG$_5$

AG.AG.BI *2-ú* GÌR KAB-*ka ina* UGU GIŠ.NÁ ZAG-*ka ina* KI GAR-*ma* ÉN *3-šú* ŠID-*nu*

ÉN *šu-ut-ti ba-na-at e-gir-ru-ú-a* [*da-mi-iq*]
ma-ḫar ^{d}XXX *u* ^{d}UTU *dam-qa // šu-ut-ti ba-na-at e-gir-ru-ú-a* SIG$_5$ *ina qí-bi-ti-ka* ^{d}NIN.LÍL
ša ba-[*lu*]-*uš-ša ši-mat* AN-*e u* KI-*tim la iš-sim-mu*
aš-kun [S]IG$_5$ *lu da-mi-iq-tum aš-kun* GÌR *ina* KI *lu da-mi-iq-*[*ti*]
ša [UD-*m*]*a da-am-qa-nim // ša it-me-a-am li-ip-šu-ra ša i-z*[*i-ir-am*]
[*lid*]-*di-na la mu-du-ú ana* ŠU[^{2}.MU]
[DU]MU ^{d}*É-a ana-ku a-a ip-rik lum-n*[*i*]
[*l*]*i-mu-ra-an-ni-ma pu-uz-ra li-mid ina lìb-bi lum-ni ana* ĦU[L]
[DUMU.S]AG ZU+AB.GE$_4$ SA$_6$.GA TAG.TAG.BI ZA.A.KÁM ZI.AN.NA Ħ[É.PÀD]

[INIM.INI]M.MA MA.MÚ.ĦUL BÚR.RU.D[A.KÁM]

[ ] *x* [ ] *y šá-ni-a* ŠU^{2}-*ka* GIŠ.LIŠ *3-šú te-me-e-*[*si*]
[*la-ma t*]*e-me-es-su-ú* MA.MÚ *šu-a-ti 3-šú ana* ŠAG$_4$ A BÚR [ ]
[ ] *x ú ti li-il-qú-nim-ma 3-šú* ŠU^{2}-*ka te-me-es-*[*si*]
[ ] ŠU^{2}-*ka te-me-es-su-ú* ÉN *an-ni-tú 3-šú* ŠID *x* [ ]
[ ] *x bi sa a nu* ĦUL [ ]
[ ]*ma ana* É-*ka* [ ]

[ ] *ḫu ik k*[*a*]
[ ] *mi šá* [ ]

break

Reverse

break

[ ] *x ra* [ ]
[ ]*ri še* [ ]

[ ] *x la ta y* [ ]
[*ina*] EN.NUN ^{d}USAN [ ]
x+5 [*ib-b*]*a-ab-la*[*m*]
šá at-[*ta ti-du*]*-ú a-na-*[*ku la*] *i-*[*du-ú*]
šum-ma [S]IG$_5$ *du-muq-šá ia-ú i-še-*[*ta-an-ni*]
šum-ma [ḪUL Ḫ]UL-*šá ia-ú i*[*k-š*]*u-dan-ni la ia-ut-*[*tu-un ši-i*]
GÍM GI *an-nu-ú na-aṭ-pu-ma* [*ana*] *ni-iṭ-pi-šú la i-tu*[*r*]
x+10 GÍM TÚG *si-is-sik-*<*ti*> *an-ni-ti bat-qa-tu-ma ana* TÚG-*ia* GÍM *ib-bat-*[ ]
MÁŠ.GE$_6$ *an-ni-ti*(!) *šá*(!) *ina* EN.NUN ^{d}USAN *ina* EN.NUN MURUB$_4$.BA.AN *ina* EN.NUN UD.ZAL.LI *ib-*[*bab-lam*]
a-a ik-šu-dan-ni la ia-u[*t-t*]*u-un ši-i*
ḫi-bi eš-šú ku bar nu šá ul ma giš(*?*) GI *ana 3-šú i-ḫa-am-meš-ma*
ḫi-bi eš-šú sik-ta NIGIN-*mi ka-ma-ta ka-la-ta ka-sa-ta*
x+15 *ḫi-bi eš-šú* AN-*ti-ka* GAL-*ti a-qal-liš*
DUG$_4$.GA-*ma* KI *ta-lap-pat ana* LÁḪ *ta-qa*[*d*]
ana DINGIR-*ka u* EŠ$_4$+DAR-*ka u nu-ri ta-kar-rab-ma* SILIM.MA

DIŠ LÚ MÁŠ.GE$_6$ ḪUL-*tim ul-ta-di-ir ana ta-ri-ti* GI MÁŠ.GE$_6$-*šú lip-šur*
ina IZI *li-iq-li ina pi-i-šú i-nap-paḫ-ma* BÚR-*ir*

---

x+20 KI.MIN *ina še-e-ri* Ì.GIŠ.DÙG.GA *qa-ti-šú* ŠEŠ-*ma* BÚR-*ir*

KI.MIN *7 ku-pa-tin-nu ša* IM *tu-kap-pat* MÁŠ.GE$_6$ *ma-la iṭ-ṭú-lu 7-šú ana lìb-bi lip-šur*
a-na E.SIR.KA.4.MA *ta-sà-paḫ* IGI ^{d}UTU *ki-a-am* DUG$_4$ ≪*ni*≫
MÁŠ.GE$_6$ *aṭ-ṭú-lu a-šar* ŠU AM *li-il-lik 7-šú* DUG$_4$.GA-*ma* BÚR-*ir*

KI.MIN *14 ku-pa-tin-nu ša* IM [*tu-kap*]-*pat* MÁŠ.[GE$_6$]
x+25 *ana* UGU *lip-šur ina* E.SIR.K[A.4.MA] *ta-*[*sà-paḫ*]
BÚR-*ir*

Excerpt II

81-2-4, 233 (*cf.* pl. III). See p. 302 for translation.

Obverse

[
[ ] ÉN *3-šú* ŠID-*nu ana* ÍD ŠUB-*ma* ḪUL BÚR

[ ] *x* ZU+AB *pa-ti-iq* AN-*e u* KI-*tim*
[*ba-nu-ú* U]N.MEŠ *mu-uṣ-ṣi-ru* GIŠ.ḪUR.MEŠ *na-din* NINDU$_3$ *šá* AN.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
5 [ ]*x kit-ti pa-ri-is* EŠ.BAR *šá* DINGIR.MEŠ ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*šú*
[ ] *x ma di-ni di-in* EŠ.BAR-*a-a* TAR-*us*

[MÁŠ.GE$_6$ *šá*] *ina* GE$_6$ *an-ni-i a-mu-ru* // *dam-qat ma-a* SIG$_5$-*šá ana* UGU-*ia*
[ ]*ma-a* GIM LAG *šá ina* IGI-*ka ana* A.MEŠ ŠUB-*ú*
[*li*]*m-ma-ḫi-iḫ lip-pa-si-is li-iḫ-ḫar-miṭ* TU$_6$ ÉN

---

10 [INIM.INIM].MA ḪUL MÁŠ.GE$_6$ SIG$_5$.GA.GE$_4$
[T]I-*qí* ÉN *3-šú ana* UGU ŠID-*nu ana* ÍD ŠUB-*ma* NAM *ina lìb-bi*
[ ]ḪUL DA EN GAL ^{d}EN.KI.GE$_4$ [M]U.UN.ŠI.IN.GIN.NA
[ ]*x* A.NI GAB.A.AN
[ ]DUG$_4$.GA ^{d}ASARI.LÚ.Ḫ[I.G]E$_4$
15 [*x y*[ ]
break

Reverse

break

[UG]U GIŠ *li-u₅-um* SA[R]

Tablet 81-2-4, 166

(*Cf.* pl. III). See pp. 306 f. for translation.

Obverse

[DIŠ LÚ *lu*] *ina* MÁŠ.GE$_6$ *lu* [*ina bi-ri*]
[ ] *x lu mu-du-u* [*lu la mu-du-ú*]
[IŠ *ina muḫ*]-*ḫi-šú* ŠUB-*di* [ ]
[ ] *niš* ŠU^2-*šú* DINGIR [ ]

[DÙ.DÙ.BI] *ana* IGI ^{d}UTU *1-en* GI.[GAB]
[SISKUR.SI]SKUR BAL-*qí* ZAG.[ ]
UZU KA.ŠEG$_6$ *tu-ṭaḫ-ḫi* [ ]
ZÍD A.TIR NÍG.Ì.DÉ.A LÀL.[ ]
NÍG.NA ŠIM.LI GAR-*an* KAŠ.[GEŠTIN]
LÚ.BI KA.LUḪ.Ù.DA DÙ-[*uš*]
ina IGI ^{d}UTU GUB-*ma kam* DUG$_4$.[GA]

ÉN ^{d}UTU DI.KUD *ṣi-*[*i-ru*]
EN AN-*e* KI-*tim*
EN AN.TA.MEŠ *u* KI.TA.MEŠ
nu-úr ^{d}Í.GÌ.GÌ [*u* ^{d}*A-nun-na-ki*]

Reverse

pa-ri-is EŠ.BAR AN.[MEŠ GAL.MEŠ]
at-ta-ma ana-ku [NINNA DUMU NINNA]
ÌR *pa-liḫ* AN-*ti-k*[*a* GAL-*ti*]
am-ḫur-ka ^{d}UTU *ri-*[*me-nu-ú*]
IŠ *šá ina* MÁŠ.GE$_6$ *lu ina* [*bi-ri*]
ana UGU-*iá na-du-u lu* [*ib-ru*]
lu tap-pu-u lu ru-u-a [ ]
lu ZU-*u lu* NU.ZU-*u lu* [ ]
šá IŠ *ana* UGU-*iá* ŠUB-*u lu* Š[U^2]
iš-šá-a lu ina KA-*šú* Š[UB-*u*]
[*u*]*n-nin ina* IGI AN-*ti-ka* GA[L-*ti*]
[*ina* U]GU NU-*šú* A.MEŠ *a-ram-*[*mu-uk*]
GIŠ.ŠINIG KUG-*an-ni* Ú.DIL.BAT *lip-*[*šu-ra-an-ni*]
[Ú].BABBAR DIN-*an-ni-ma lim-me-ru* [ ]
[ ] DIN *ka dà-lí-lí-ka* [*lud-lul*]

[*kam* DU]G$_4$.GA-*ma uš-ken ina* I[GI ^{d}UTU]
[ ] NU SAL *šá* IM DÙ-[*uš*]
[ ] UGU TU$_5$-*ma* [ ]
[ ] *niš* ŠU^2-*šú* DINGIR *i-*[*maḫ-ḫar*]

APPENDICES

1. LIST OF TRANSLATED DREAM-REPORTS

1 Dream of Gudea (Th. Jacobsen) 245
2 Dream of Tammuz (Th. Jacobsen) 246
3 Dreams of Gilgamesh (Old Babyl.) (A. L. Oppenheim) 246
4 Dream of Gilgamesh (Neo-Assyr.) (A. L. Oppenheim) 247
5 Three Dreams of Gilgamesh (A. L. Oppenheim) 247
6 Dream of Enkidu (H. G. Güterbock) 248
7 Death-Dream of Enkidu (A. L. Oppenheim) 248
8 Dream of Gyges (A. L. Oppenheim) 249
9 The Crossing of The River Idid'e (A. L. Oppenheim) 249
10 Dream of the Priest of Ishtar (A. L. Oppenheim) 249
11 A Warning Dream (A. L. Oppenheim) 249
12 Dream of Nabonidus (A. L. Oppenheim) ... 250
13 Another Dream of Nabonidus (A. L. Oppenheim) 250
14 Dreams of the "Sufferer" (A. L. Oppenheim) 250
15 Dream of Thutmose IV (K. C. Seele) 251
16 Dream of Merenptah (K. C. Seele) 251
17 Dream of Tanutamon (K. C. Seele) 251
18 Dream of the Prince of Bekhten (K. C. Seele) 251
19 Dream of Djoser (K. C. Seele) 251
20 Dream of Taimhotep (K. C. Seele) 252
21 Dream of Ptolemy Soter (R. Marcus) 252
22 Dream of Sethos (R. Marcus) 252
23 Dream of Petesīs (R. Marcus) 253
24 Excerpts from the Dream-Papyri of the Serapeum (R. Marcus) 253
25 First Dream-Appearance of Ishtar (H. G. Güterbock) 254
26 Dream of Hattushili (H. G. Güterbock) 254
27 Second Dream-Appearance of Ishtar (H. G. Güterbock) 254
28 Third Dream-Appearance of Ishtar (H. G. Güterbock) 254
29 Another Dream of Hattushili (H. G. Güterbock) 254
30 A Dream of The Queen (H. G. Güterbock). 254
31 A Dream of The Queen (H. G. Güterbock). 254
32 A Dream of The Queen (H. G. Güterbock). 255
33 A Dream of The King (H. G. Güterbock).. 255

2. LIST OF ADDITIONAL DREAM-INCIDENTS DISCUSSED IN PART I

Sumerian:

Inscription of Eannatum (*VAB I* 12 VI: 25 ff.) 189
Inscription of Gudea (Cyl. A IX: 5–XII: 13). 212
(Cyl. A XX: 7–11) 224
Lugalbanda Epic 187
Epic of Gilgamesh (Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living) 187
(Death of Gilgamesh) 187

Akkadian:

Old Babyl. private letters *PBS VII*/1 no. 17.. 229
TCL I no. 53 226
Letter from Mari *RA* **42**: 128 195
Middle Babyl. private letter *PBS I*/2 no. 60.. 196
Neo-Babyl. letter *YOS I* no. 39 205
Middle Assyr. letter *JRAS* 1904 p. 415 223
Neo-Assyr. letters *Harper ABL* 923 200
Harper ABL 1021 192
Ammiditana, name of the 12th Year 192
Neo-Babyl. royal inscription *CT XXXIV* 28: 67 ..... 203, 209
Epic of Gilgamesh XIth Tabl. 195–6 207
Irra Epic (*K.* 1282: rev. 6–8, *BA* **2**: 495) 193
Description of the Netherworld *Ebeling Tod und Leben* **1** no. 1: 214
Report of Extispicy *JAOS* **36**: 82 ff. ..... 205 f.
Astrological report *RT* **19**: 101 f. 205
Fragment of a legend *KUB III* no. 87 188

Egyptian:

Memphis Stela 190
Demotic Popular Story (F. Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High-Priests of Memphis, etc.*, p. 142 ff.) 194

Hittite:

KUB VII 5 IV: 1–10 194
KUB XV 5 I: 10–17 193
1 II: 5–10 (=37–41) 227
5 II: 39–45 193
III: 45–49 193
IV: 36–39 193
KUB XXXI 77 204
KBo IV 6 I: 21 ff. ..... 197 f.
Keshshi-Story (*ZA* **49**: 235 ff.) 208
Murshili (*Goetze-Pedersen, Muršili*) ..... 230 f.

Old Testament:

Gen. 20: 3–8 188
Gen. 28: 12–17 187

Gen. 31: 10–11 ... 188
Gen. 31: 24 ... 188
Gen. 40: 5–13, 16–22 ... 210
Judges 7: 13–15 ... 207, 210 f.
I Sam. 3: 1–10 ... 188, 189
I Kings 3: 5 ... 188, 191
9: 2 ... 188
Isaiah 39: 8 ... 227
Jeremiah 23: 25 ... 207
Dan. 4: 19 ... 205, 210
2 Macc. 15: 11 ... 192

New Testament:
Matth. 27: 19 ... 197
Acts 9: 10–16 ... 209
16: 9 ... 210

Ugaritic:
(after C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature*)
p. 46 (*Baal* and *Anat*) no. 49 iv: 4, 10 ... 213
p. 68 (Legend of *Krt*) 36 ... 213
p. 71 (Legend of *Krt*) 154 ... 191
p. 86 (Legend of *Aqht*) 1: 15–17 ... 188

3. ARRANGEMENT OF THE TRANSLITERATION

I. Omen Tablets ... 307–338

Assigned Fragments

Tablet II ... 307
Tablet III ... 308
Tablet IV ... 309
Tablet VII ... 309
Tablet IX ... 311
Babylon 36383 ... 313

Provisionally Assigned Fragments

Tablet A (Main Tablet) ... 314

Fragment No. 1 ... 320
Fragment No. 2 ... 320
Fragment No. 3 ... 320
Fragment No. 4 ... 321

Tablet B ... 322

Tablet C (Main Tablet) ... 326

Fragment No. 1 ... 331
Fragment No. 2 ... 332
Fragment No. 3 ... 332

Not Assigned Fragments

Fragment I ... 333
Fragment II ... 334
Fragment III ... 335
Fragment IV ... 336
Fragment V ... 336
Royal Dreams ... 337

II. Tablets with Rituals ... 338–344

Assigned Fragments

Tablet I ... 338
Tablet X ... 338

Not Assigned Fragments

Fragment I ... 339
Fragment II ... 339
Fragment III ... 340
Fragment IV ... 340
Fragment V ... 341
Fragment VI ... 341

Excerpts

Excerpt I ... 342
Excerpt II ... 343
Tablet 812–2–4, 166 ... 344

4. LIST OF FRAGMENTS

No.	Photo: Pl.	Assigned to:	Previous Publication:	Joins:	Transliteration:	Translation:
BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON						
K. 25	obv.: XI	Tablet C	*Boissier DA* 27–30	*K.* 2046, *K.* 2205, *K.* 2216, *K.* 8442	pp. 326–328	pp. 282–283
	rev.: XII	Tablet C			pp. 328–330	pp. 283–288
K. 273	obv.: XIII	—	none	*K.* 1944b, *K.* 9064	p. 337	p. 294
	rev.: XIII	—	III *R* 56 no. 2		pp. 337–338	pp. 293–294
K. 1944b	rev.: XIII	—	none	*cf.* sub *K.* 273		
K. 2018A	obv.: IX	Tablet B	none	*K.* 12525, *Sm* 477, *Sm* 544, *Sm* 1562	pp. 322–323, 323–324	pp. 277, 278–279
K. 2046	XI	Tablet C	*Boissier Choix* **2**: 45 (exc.)	*cf.* sub *K.* 25		
K. 2205	XI	Tablet C	none	*cf.* sub *K.* 25		
K. 2216	XI	Tablet C	none	*cf.* sub *K.* 25		
K. 2239	obv.: XII	Tablet C	Virolleaud, *Babyloniaca* **4**: 124	duplicate of *K.* 25+	notes 237, 239	p. 283

No.	Photo: Pl.	Assigned to:	Previous Publication:	Joins:	Transliteration:	Translation:
	rev.: XII				notes 240, 241	p. 283
K. 2266	obv.: VII	Tablet A	*Boissier Choix* **2**: 39 f. (exc.)	*cf.* sub *K.* 9919	pp. 315–316	pp. 271, 272
	rev.: VII		none			
K. 2582	obv.: VI	Tablet IX	*Boissier Choix* **2**: 34 (one line of *K.* 2582)	*K.* 3820, *K.* 6739, *Sm* 251	p. 311	pp. 267, 268
	rev.: VI	Tablet IX			pp. 312–313	pp. 268, 269
K. 3333	II	Ritual	none		pp. 340–341	p. 304
K. 3758	obv.: I	Tablet I	none		p. 338	p. 297
	rev.: I				p. 338	—
K. 3820	VI	Tablet IX	*Boissier Choix* **2**: 34 (exc.)	*cf.* sub *K.* 2582		
K. 3941	obv.: I	Tablet III	none	*K.* 4017	p. 308	pp. 263–264
	rev.: I		none		pp. 308–309	p. 264
K. 3980	IV	Tablet VII	none	*K.* 6399	p. 310	pp. 265–266
K. 4017	I	Tablet III	*Boissier Choix* **2**: 26, 28	*cf.* sub *K.* 3941		p. 264
K. 4103	I	Tablet X	none	*K.* 13330	p. 338	p. 301
K. 4570	VI	Tablet A	none	*K.* 7251	pp. 317, 317–318, 318–319	pp. 272, 273–274
K. 4575	VII	Tablet A	*Boissier Choix* **2**: 35 (exc.)	*cf.* sub *K.* 9919		
K. 5175	II	Ritual	none	*K.* 6001	p. 341	note 205
K. 6001	II	Ritual	none	*cf.* sub *K.* 5175		note 205
K. 6267	obv.: IV	Tablet VII	*Thompson AMT* 63, 5		p. 309	p. 266
	rev.: IV				pp. 309–310, 311	pp. 265, 266
K. 6399	IV	Tablet VII	none	*cf.* sub *K.* 3980		
K. 6611	VII	Tablet A	none		pp. 316, 316–317	pp. 271–272
K. 6663	VI	Tablet A	none	*K.* 8300	pp. 314, 315	pp. 270–271
K. 6673	VII	Tablet A	none		p. 320	p. 275
K. 6705	XIII	not assigned	none		p. 334	p. 291
K. 6739	VI	Tablet IX	none	*cf.* sub *K.* 2582		p. 268
K. 6768	XIII	not assigned	*Boissier Choix* **2**: 22 (exc.)		pp. 333–334	pp. 290–291
K. 6824	XIII	not assigned	none		p. 334	p. 291
K. 7068	XI	Tablet A	*Boissier Choix* **2**: 29 (exc. one line)		p. 336	pp. 292–293
K. 7248	XII	not assigned	*CT* XX 3	*K.* 8339, *K.* 11781	pp. 331–332	pp. 288–289
K. 7251	VI	Tablet A	none	*cf.* sub *K.* 4570		
K. 8171	I	Ritual	none	*K.* 11041, *K.* 11684, *K.* 14058	p. 339	p. 302
K. 8300	VI	Tablet A	none	*cf.* sub *K.* 6663		
K. 8339	XII	Tablet C	*Boissier Choix* **2**: 6 f. (exc.)	*cf.* sub *K.* 7248		
K. 8442	obv.: XI	Tablet C	none	*cf.* sub *K.* 25		
	rev.: XII					
K. 8583	I	Ritual	none		p. 340	p. 298
K. 9038	XIII	Tablet C	*Boissier Choix* **2**: 9 f. (exc.)		pp. 332–333	p. 290
K. 9064	rev.:	—	III *R* 56 no. 2	*K.* 273, *K.* 1944b		(*cf.* sub *K.* 273)
K. 9197	IV	Tablet IX	none		p. 311	pp. 267, 268
K. 9812	XIII	not assigned	none		p. 336	p. 292
K. 9919	VII	Tablet A	none	*K.* 2266, *K.* 4575, *K.* 12319, *Sm* 2073		
K. 9945	XI	not assigned	none	*cf.* sub *K.* 10456	pp. 334–335	pp. 291–292
K. 10456	XI	not assigned	none	*K.* 9945, *K.* 12590		
K. 10663	VII	Tablet A	none		p. 320	p. 275
K. 10852	XI	not assigned	none		p. 335	p. 292
K. 11041	I	Ritual	none	*cf.* sub *K.* 8171		
	I					
K. 11684		Ritual	none	*cf.* sub *K.* 8171		
K. 11781	XII	Tablet C	none	*cf.* sub *K.* 7248		
K. 11841		Tablet A	none		pp. 319, 319–320	p. 274
K. 12319	VII	Tablet A	none	*cf.* sub *K.* 9919		p. 274
K. 12525	IX	Tablet B	none	*cf.* sub *K.* 2018A	p. 325	p. 280

No.	Photo: Pl.	Assigned to:	Previous Publication:	Joins:	Transliteration:	Translation:
K. 12590	XI	not assigned	none	*cf.* sub *K.* 10456		
K. 12638	obv.: IV	Tablet II	none		p. 307	
	rev.: IV		none		pp. 307–308	
K. 12641	Face A X	Tablet C	none		p. 332	pp. 289–290
	Face B X		none		p. 332	p. 290
K. 12842	X	Tablet B	none		note 77	p. 278, note 77
K. 13330	I	Tablet X	none	*cf.* sub *K.* 4103		p. 301
K. 14058	I	Ritual	none	*cf.* sub *K.* 8171		
K. 14216	IV	Tablet IV	none		p. 309	p. 264
K. 14884	obv.: IX	Tablet A	none		p. 321	pp. 275–276
	rev.: IX		none		pp. 321–322	
Sm 29	V	Tablet IX	none	79-7-8, 94	pp. 311–312	pp. 267–268
Sm 251	VI	Tablet IX	*Boissier Choix* 2: 34 (exc.)	*cf.* sub *K.* 2582		
Sm 477	IX	Tablet B	none	*cf.* sub *K.* 2018A		
Sm 543	I	Ritual	none		pp. 341–342	p. 297
Sm 544	IX	Tablet B	none	*cf.* sub *K.* 2018A		
Sm 801	obv.: VIII	Tablet B	*Boissier Choix* 2: 24 (exc.), *Bezold Cat.* 1438 (exc.)	*cf.* sub *Sm* 952		
	rev.: VIII		none		pp. 324–325, 325–326	pp. 280–281
Sm 952	obv.: VIII	Tablet B	none	*Sm* 801, *Sm* 1024	p. 322	pp. 276–277
	rev.: VIII		none			
Sm 1024	VIII	Tablet B	none	*cf.* sub *Sm* 952		pp. 279–280
Sm 1069	I	Ritual	none		pp. 339–340	p. 299
Sm 1458	VII	Tablet A	none		pp. 320–321	p. 275
Sm 1562	IX	Tablet B	none	*cf.* sub *K.* 2018A		
Sm 2073	obv.: VII	Tablet A	none	*cf.* sub *K.* 9919	pp. 314–316, 318–319	pp. 270–271, 272–273, 274–275
	rev.: VII		none			
79-7-8, 77	obv.: II	Ritual	none		p. 342	
	rev.: II		none		p. 343	p. 304
	edge: II		none			
79-7-8, 94		Tablet IX	*Boissier Choix* 2: 33 (exc.)	*cf.* sub *Sm* 29		
81-2-4, 166	obv.: III	—	none		p. 344	pp. 306–307
	rev.: III		none		p. 344	
	edge: III		none			
81-2-4, 233	obv.: III	Ritual	none		p. 343	*cf.* p. 299
	rev.: III		none		p. 344	
	edge: III		none			
82-5-22, 538	X	Tablet B	none		pp. 323, 324	pp. 277–278
STAATLICHE MUSEEN, BERLIN						
VAT 8913	—	Ritual	*KAR* 53		pp. 300–306	note 231
VAT 9026	—	Ritual	*KAR* 252			for details *cf.* note 232
VAT 11098	—	Tablet B	*KAR* 470			p. 260
VAT 13620	—	Ritual	*LKA* 132			
VAT 14279	obv.: X	Tablet B	none			p. 260
	rev.: X		none			
DEUTSCHE ORIENTGESELLSCHAFT, BERLIN						
Babylon 36383	V	Tablet IX	none		pp. 313–314	pp. 260, 268

5. LIST OF AKKADIAN AND SUMERIAN WORDS

Akkadian Words:

abālu (dreams) pp. 216, 226
abbūtu n. 167
alāku (*ana limuttišu*) n. 169
alāku (*ana pânišu*) n. 169
annû n. 138
annu/arnu n. 150
āpil(t)u p. 221
arādu (*ana kišti*) n. 122
arnu/annu n. 150
asakku n. 17
kuš*ašat(i)* n. 80
ašqulālu n. 134
bâb zîqi p. 234
bābilu amēlūti p. 226
bêru n. 143
bît kisitti p. 269
burru (*kunnu u b.*) n. 145
burṣimdu n. 218
dagālu n. 132
danānu n. 150
dulḫû n. 96
egirrû pp. 229, 300
elânītum p. 229
elînītu p. 229
emesallu (*ṭâbtu e.*) p. 305
enninu n. 176
ensû p. 221
epqum n. 54
ēṣid pân mē n. 93

etillu n. 97
gašāru n. 33
**ḫā'iṭūtu* n. 14
túg*ḫa'u* n. 186
ḫamāšu n. 196
ḫardibi p. 238
ḫiltu n. 61
ḫiltu p. 225
ḫummuṣu n. 15
ǰattun n. 197
ǰau (for *ē*) n. 194
ibb/ppunitum p. 284
idirtu n. 181
ilu p. 234
imirtu n. 63
ipp/bbunitum p. 284
irbu n. 55
irru (*išid i.*) n. 40
**isripu* n. 54
išātu (*i. šakānu*) n. 215
išdu (*kênu*) n. 106
išid irri n. 40
išḫunnatu n. 52
išītu n. 48
iṭṭu n. 57
kuš*kabab(u)* n. 80
kabāt qaqqadi/rêši n. 23
kašūšu n. 19
kîlu n. 31
kippu (*k. maḫāṣu*) n. 130
kisittu (*bît k.*) p. 269
kisallîtu n. 130
kisalla mêlili n. 130
kisallu n. 130
kuduppānu p. 272
kullu (door) n. 215
kunnu (*k. u burru*) n. 145
kupatinnu n. 217
kupru n. 57
kurbannu p. 301
kurru (*šaqālu*) n. 105
kušāru n. 222
lâlu n. 69
leqû šeṭūt PN n. 136
liqtātu n. 10
maḫāṣu kippa n. 130
muḫḫūtu n. 172
makâltu p. 222
ma/ekû (DUG$_4$.DUG$_4$) n. 53
manû p. 302
manû ana zaqīqi p. 234
maqātu (stars) p. 283
mârat ilišu n. 168
mašû (DUG$_4$.DUG$_4$) n. 94
mašû n. 26
me/akû (DUG$_4$.DUG$_4$) n. 53
mêlilu (*kisalla m.*) n. 130
mêlultu passi n. 130
mêsiru p. 258
mêšû (MI-*ši*) n. 48
milḫu p. 258
mimma îṣu n. 25
muḫḫuṣu n. 174
mukîl rêš limutti p. 263
mullû qašta n. 132
munattu p. 225
mundu p. 292
mupaššir šunāte pp. 219, 223
muššakku(m) p. 222
mutarruru p. 272
Namallatum n. 59
namlu n. 59
nasāku n. 132
naspantu n. 19
naštartu p. 233
nazāqu n. 157
negeltû p. 191
nibîtu p. 202
niṭpu n. 194
nuppušu p. 272
pašāru pp. 217 f., 302, n. 229
papannu p. 264
pappāt êni n. 4
pappu n. 4
parkullu n. 16
passu (*mêlultu p.*) n. 130
^{im}*pašru* p. 273
pašuqtu n. 32
patlu n. 5
pirittu p. 274
pišru p. 220
puḫugarri p. 231
purkullu n. 16
puzru n. 185
qarāšû p. 275
qaštu (*mullû q.*) n. 132
qiddāte n. 142
qirbi MUD p. 278
qirbu p. 278
qullulu qaqqad NN n. 23
rapādu p. 275
sabābu p. 275
sabarru n. 123
saḫal šêri n. 42
saḫālu n. 120
saḫaršuppû n. 54
saḫāru itti p. 257
saḫāru ana p. 257
samādu n. 177
sarīru p. 286
siḫil šêri n. 42
siḫilti šêri n. 42
sili'tu n. 90
suḫḫuru n. 157
ṣalāpu n. 141
ṣarbatu n. 55
ṣêtu n. 109
šā'il egli p. 225
šā'il našrē p. 224
šā'il(t)u p. 221
šammuḫ p. 258
šaqālu (*kurru*) n. 105
šar kiššāti n. 72
šatāpu n. 178
šeṭûtu (*leqû š.* PN) n. 136
šigušu n. 175
šukussu n. 74
šumḫuru (*šutta*) p. 216
šumma n. 277, n. 278
šummu n. 2
giš*šunû* p. 280
šuttu p. 225
tabku n. 3
tabrît mûši pp. 201, 225
takṣiru n. 228
talālu (*qašta*) n. 132
tarîtu n. 216
têšû p. 275
ṭ/ṭubbātu n. 127
tukku n. 103
tuššu n. 73
ṭêmum gamrum p. 195
ṭ/tubbātu n. 127
ṭurru n. 100
giš*urbatu* n. 22
ukullē umāmi p. 272
ummar damé n. 45
unšinakku p. 272
giš*urzinu* p. 272
utullu p. 187
zanāḫu n. 161
zaqīqu p. 234 f.
zaqīqu (*ana z. manû/turru*) p. 234
zaqīq amēlūti p. 235
zâqu p. 234
zinû n. 117
zîqu (*bâb z.*) p. 234

Sumerian Words:

A.DAM.SA (ḪI.A) n. 171
AB.GI.NA p. 264
AL.ḪAB.BA p. 278
AN.KI.NU.TI n. 134
AN.TAḪ.ŠUM p. 272
AN.ZA.QAR pp. 233, 236
AN.ZAG.GAR.RA pp. 233, 236
(GIŠ) ÁŠ.DÙG.GA (LÀL) p. 272
AZAG n. 17
BARA$_2$ n. 184
BÚR pp. 213, 218 f.
(UTUL) BUR$_3$^{mušen} p. 271
DUGUD n. 23
É.ÉŠ.DAM p. 269
ÉŠ.ḪÚL n. 130
E$_{11}$ n. 27
ENSI$_2$ pp. 221 f.
GA.RA.A.AN n. 52
GA.RA.AN/NA n. 52
GAN.ZI SAR p. 272
GAR.KI n. 38
(LÚ) GE$_6$.(A).GIN.GIN n. 14
GI PEŠ.GI n. 81
GÌR.RA.RA n. 130
GIŠ.ÁŠ.DÙG.GA (LÀL) p. 272
GIŠ.BI.ZA n. 130
GIŠ.GEŠTIN.GA.RA.A.AN n. 52
GIŠ.ŠUR.ŠE n. 121
GIŠ.IGI.DU n. 118
GIŠ.KIN.GEŠTIN n. 52
GIŠ NU.ÚR.MA.LÀL p. 272
GIŠ.PA DINGIR n. 151
GIŠ.ZA + SUḪ n. 121
GIŠ.ZI.NA n. 117
GUR$_4$.RA p. 278
ḪA.LUḪ p. 191
ḪA.ŠUM n. 154
ḪAB (AL.ḪAB.BA) p. 278
ḪAR.BAT n. 165
ḪÚL. x n. 82
ḪÚL.ḪAB n. 82
ḪUR.SAG.SAR p. 273
(GIŠ) IGI.DÙ n. 118
(ŠE) IN.NU.ḪA n. 176
INIM.É.GAL n. 110
INIM.NU.GAR.RA n. 73
^{d}KAL + BE n. 99
(UTUL) KI.LAM n. 46
KI.ŠÚ n. 31
KIN p. 278
(GIŠ) KIN.GEŠTIN n. 52
KU.A p. 275
KU.KUR n. 222
(LÚ) KUL.LUM p. 223

KUN n. 95
KUR.GI^{mušen} n. 49
LU.ÚB.SAR p. 272
LÚ.GE$_6$.(A).GIN.GIN n. 14
LÚ ≪GIDIM≫.MA p. 223
LÚ.KUL.LUM p. 223
LÚ.SAG.ŠÈ.NÁ.A p. 223
LÚ.ŠIM.SAR p. 223
MA.DA.LÂ n. 4
MA.MU p. 226, n. 212
MAŠ.EN.DÙ n. 39
MÁŠ n. 56
ME.UGA n. 226
MI.ŠI (*mêši*) n. 48
MU.UN.DU n. 56
NA$_4$.UR n. 225
NÍG.BANDA n. 25
NIR.GÁL n. 29
(GIŠ) NU.ÚR.MA.LÀL p. 272
RA (GÌR.RA.RA) n. 130
SAL ENSI$_2$ p. 222
SAG.ŠÈ.NÁ p. 224
SÌG.GA p. 235
ŠE IN.NU.ḪA n. 176
ŠE.ŠEŠ n. 175
ŠEG$_6$ (AL.ŠEG$_6$.GA) p. 278
ŠIM n. 158
(LÚ) ŠIM.SAR p. 223
ŠU.TAG.GA n. 130
ŠUKUR n. 118
Ù p. 226
Ú.PI.TA.PI.PI n. 221
UD (of GIŠ.GIŠIMAR) n. 115
UM p. 290 f.
(NA$_4$) UR n. 225
UR$_5$.RA.AŠ p. 223
UTUL.BUR$_5$^{mušen} p. 271
UTUL.KI.LAM n. 46
UTUL.ZI.BA.AḪ n. 47
ZAG p. 292
(UTUL) ZI.BA.AH n. 47
ZI.GA.ŠU n. 133
ZI.IN.GI n. 130
ZI.IN.GI GÌR.RA.RA n. 130
(GIŠ) ZI.NA n. 117

Proper Names:
A. LUL^{ki} n. 37
Dûr-Marduk-uballiṭ p. 267
Emar^{ki} n. 8
(URU) GEŠTIN.NA n. 9
GI.IN.SAG.6^{ki} n. 30
Ḫa(m)bari p. 260
Ḫaz/sur p. 260
Ì.LUL^{ki} n. 37
Imar^{ki} n. 8
Iddan/Idran p. 260
Išlan p. 268
KAR$^{sarrar\ ki}$ p. 268
Karanā n. 9
Kila p. 260
Labbanat n. 36
Laban-È n. 36
Laban-Ibaḫḫi n. 36
Luḫaiat p. 260
^{d}*Maḫir* p. 232
^{d}MA.MÚ pp. 232 f.
Parša/Parsum p. 268
Sarrar p. 268
^{d}*Sig.sig* p. 232
Upē^{ki} n. 35
^{d}*Zaqīqu* p. 232

TOPICAL INDEX

Abode of dreams, Realm of dead: relationship of, 223
Achilles: 191, 198, 199, 203, 228
Aeschylus: 208
Agamemnon: 191
Alexander the Great: 188
Amenhotep: 188, 190, 191
Antiphon: 210
Annunciation: 194
Aphonia of Murshili: 230, 231
Aqht, Legend of: 188
Aristotle: 237
Artemidorus: 206, 209, 240, 241, 242, 243
Asclepius: 194, 195
Assurbanipal: inscriptions of, 186, 187, 199; dream-reports of, 199 *passim* to 202; "pleasant" dreams of, 229; theophany of Ishtar, 200, 201; warning to enemies of—on moon-god pedestal, 202, 250; "written" name of, 202, 249; appearance of deity to army of, 209, 249
Assyria and Babylonia: political and cultic differences reflected in attitudes toward dreams, 199, 200
Assyrian Dream-book: origins of, 295, 296; contents of, 262; division according to omens and rituals, 262, 295; summary of text history of, 296; *omen texts* in: stylistic conventions of, 256, 257; Susa tablet, 257–259; Cassite text, 259, 260; Assur fragments, 260; Series *Ziqīqu* Tablets II–IX and related omina, 261–294; *ritual texts* in: Series *Ziqīqu* Tablets I, X, XI, Nineveh fragments, Assur text, 295–306; *see also* Sources
Astrological dream of Shumukîn: 205
Astronomical dream of Bêl-iddanu: 205
Astronomical phenomena: as significant in dreams as in sky, 205, 282, 283, 284
Astyages: 265
Auditory experience: 193, 194, 195, 199, 200
Awakening: of Achilles, 191; of Bellerophon, 190; of Djoser, 191; of Gilgamesh, 216; of Gudea, 191, 212; of priest of Ishtar, 190; in Legend of Krt, 191; of Samuel, 189; of Solomon, 191; of Tanutamon, 191; of daughter of Icarus, 191

Babylon, 202
Babylonian Talmud: 205, 206, 232
Barrenness: 194, 195
Basic material of dreams: 184
Bekhten, Prince of: 187, 206, 207, 251
Bellerophon: 190, 192
Belshazzar: 203, 205

Cannibalism: 271, 273
Cassite letter: 196
Cathartic rites (ritual cleansing): 218, 219; *see* Ritual Texts
Censorship: 185, 200, 206, 209, 210, 227, 240
Chaldeans: 205, 210, 238
Cicero: 197, 206, 208, 210
Circumstances of dreaming: 187, 190
Clairvoyance dreams: 196, 212, 214
Cledonomancy: 211, 229
Communication with deity: through persons of cultic/charismatic standing, 224; in Old Testament, 221; avenues of, enumerated in prayer of Murshili, 199; in another Hittite text, 222
Complaint (ritual) preceding royal incubation: 199, 200, 252
Conception: 194, 252
Contrasting exegeses based on one and the same dream: 210
Coprophagy: 273
Cyrus: 203

David: 193
Daniel: 188, 204, 205, 207, 210, 220, 222, 239
Death-dream: of Enkidu, 196, 213, 215, 248, 249; of Tammuz, 212, 213, 246; of Hittite princess, 197, 198; of a person recalled to living world from realm of dead, 214
Deceased person, apparition of: 191, 193, 204, 236
Deity, apparition of: in Epic of Gilgamesh, 189, 196; on "Hunger-Stela," 189; on Memphis Stela, 188, 190; on Sphinx Stela, 187, 188; on Stela of the Vultures, 189; in Old Testament, 188; in Greek literature, 188; in Old Norse literature, 188; in disguise of living person, 198, 199; to women, 197; *deity:* position of, 189; gestures of, 192; voice of, 189, 190, 191, 193, 202; visual aspects of, 189; *dreamer:* passivity of, 188; objectivity of experience, 188
Demonic being: *see* Dream-Demon
Demonic vs. theological aspects of dreams: 234, 235
Dialogue in dream-theophanies: 191, 195
Divination techniques: *in Mesopotamia:* lecanomancy, 222; libanomancy, 222, 223; oracles, 223; necromancy, 223; extispicy, 223; communication with deity in sought dreams, 223, 224; bird-omina (*auguria oblativa*), 224; necromantic practices of women, 223; *outside Mesopotamia:* bird-omina (*auguria impetrativa*), 224; hepatoscopy, 222; extispicy and augury, 224; inscription of Idrimi, 224; observation of eagles, 224; trends in preference for various techniques, 242
Divine confirmation of interpretation: 207
Divine inspiration: 193, 194
Divine instructions to king in a symbolic dream: 211
Divine intervention: 196, 209
Divine will in writing: 202
Djoser: 191, 192, 251, 252
Dream and waking worlds: borderline between, 188, 190, 192; ominous events equally valid in, 205, 206
Dream as objective experience: 188, 191, 232
Dream as psychological experience: theories of, 226, 227, 228, 229
Dream within a dream: 205
Dreams reflecting state of dreamer: characterized by dreamer as "good," "bad," "evil," etc., 228, 229, 230, 231, 232; never recorded, 228, 230; have no mantic implications, 229; originated by demonic powers, 232
"Dream," "sleep": etymology and semantics of terms, 225, 226
Dream-books, typology of: 243
Dream-demons: originate dreams, 232; abode of, 235, 236; ruled over by dream-god, 232
Dream-god: related only to dreams originated by demonic powers, 232; member of the pantheon, ruler over dream-demons, 232; discussion of names of, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236; semantics of *Zaqīqu* with Hebrew and Greek parallels, 234, 235
Dream-interpretation, history of: influences: of classical Greece, 237; of post-classical Greece and Orient, 237; of modern psychoanalysis, 237
Dream-omina: concern private persons, 239; fragments concerning a king—unique case, 237, 239; *see also* Omina-Collections
Dream-reports: pattern and stylistic conventions of, 184, 185, 186, 187, 190, 191, 202, 203, 204; censorship of, 185, 209, 210, 240; content of, 186, 191; literary use of, 184, 185, 186, 187, 212; atypical pattern of, 195; oldest example of, 191; *see also* Sources
Dream-similes: 228
Dream-theophany: 189, 190, 191, 192
Dreamer: 184, 185, 187, 188, 190, 191, 229, 240
Dreams, typology of: message (may be symbolic dream), 184; dreams reflecting state of dreamer, 184; mantic dreams, 184

Eannatum: 189
Egyptian dream-collections: 243; Hieratic Collection, 244, 245; Demotic Papyrus, 244, 245; theory of origin, and survival of, 245
Enigmatic dream: 206, 219; *see also* Symbolic Dream
Enkidu: 196, 204, 208, 213, 214, 215, 216, 221, 248, 249
Er, vision of (Plato): 214
Etana, myth of: 214, 222
Etiology of dreams: 225–236
Evil dreams: 185, 197, 206, 207, 230, 231, 232, 239; conceived as objective event, 232; *see also* Dreams reflecting state of dreamer
Extispicy in dreams: in Cassite text, 205

Falcon, golden: 206
Flying: 258, 287
Forgotten dream: 210, 232, 300, 304
Freud, Sigmund: 185

Gideon: 210, 211
Gigantic figure: 189, 190, 192, 196, 210, 212, 217, 245, 252
Gilgamesh: 187, 204, 208, 212, 213, 215, 216, 221, 241, 246, 247, 248

Gods, dreams of: need divine interpreters, 211; Tammuz, 212, 213, 241, 246; in Ugarithic mythology, 212, 213
Gudea: 188, 189, 191, 211, 212, 218, 221; sought inspiration-dream: plan of temple, 224, 245, 246
Gyges: 199, 202, 249

Hattushili: 186, 187, 193, 197, 198, 199, 254
Heaven: 258, 282
Hesiod: 194
Hittite dreams: 193, 195, 197, 198, 199, 227, 254, 255; non-Eastern pattern of, and Greek parallels, 198, 199
Humbaba: 215, 216

Impotence: 194
Incestuous dream: 227, 228
Incubation dream: purpose of, 188; sacerdotal conventions of, 190; experienced by kings and priests, 188; of Daniel, 188; of Gudea, 188, 189, 191, 224, 245, 246; of Jacob, 187; in prayer of Murshili, 188, 199; of Nabonidus, 188, 189, 205, 250; of Narâm-Sin, 188, 199; of Priest of Ishtar, 188, 249; of Samuel, 188, 189; of Sethos, 188, 252; of Solomon, 188, 191; of Thutmose IV, 187, 191, 251; for dying Alexander the Great, 188; in Egyptian texts, 188; unintentional incubation, 187, 188; for interpretation of symbolic dream, 224
Indian dream-book: 243
"Infantile sexual theory": 194, 265
Inspiration dreams: 192, 193, 194, 224
Intercourse: 194, 195
Interpretation: methods of, 221, 241; purpose of, 218, 219, 220; results of, 219; of symbolic dreams, 206, 207
"Interpretation": semantic implications of Akkadian and Sumerian terms for, 218, 219, 220 and Semitic and Egyptian parallels, 220; usage of term in this work, 220, 229
Interpreters: 220–225; gods as, 221, 222; women as, 221; intellectual level and intuitive methods of women as, 225; semantics of Sumerian and Akkadian terms for diviner priests, 221, 222; priestly and social standing of, 200, 225; according to Sumero-Akkadian Vocabularly of Professions, 223, 224; Sumerian concept of, 225; in Old Testament, 210, 222; in Classical World, 222, 223; Nebukadnezzar as, 204, 205; formulae of address of, 204, 205, 250; Egyptian—at Assyrian Court, 238; Greek, 238; Babylonian, 239; instructed by deity, 222
Irra, Epic of: 193
Irrational dreams: 185; *see also* Evil Dreams

Jacob: 187, 194, 196
Jeremiah: 192
Jewelry, stolen: 196
Joseph: 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 210, 220, 240
Josephus: 209
Judas Maccabeus: 192

Keshshi: 208, 221
Khamuas: 194, 214
King, prediction offspring will become: 265
Krt, Legend of: 191

Literary use of dream reports: 184, 185, 186, 187, 212, 221
Living person, apparition of: 191, 193, 198, 199
Lion of ivory: 193
Ludlul-bêl-nêmeqi: 187, 189, 208, 217, 222, 223, 250

Macrobius: 205, 206
Mandane: 265
Mantic dreams: implications of, 237, 238; incidents in as valid as in real world, 238; cultural restrictions on reliability of prediction in, 240, 241
Mantis religiosa: 225
Mari-letter: 195, 199
Medical incubation: 194
Merenptah: 187, 189, 192, 251
Message dream: recorded mainly in royal inscriptions, 185, 186, 209; occur to royal persons and priests, 185—almost exclusively to male dreamers, 190, 197; characteristics of, 185 *passim* to 192; central figure in, 191, 192; "specific message" type of, 192, 193, 194; atypical, 195, 196; *see also* Incubation Dream, Dream-Theophany, Dream-Reports
Meteorological phenomena: 283, 284
Milton (*Par. Lost*): 189
Moralizing element in dreams—forerunner of *Divina Comedia*, 214
Moses: 192, 193
Murshili: 188, 198, 199, 254; his dream of thunderstorm, 230, 231
Muwatalli: 198, 254

Nabonidus: 186, 188, 189, 191, 192, 199, 202, 203, 204, 205, 209, 250
Narâm-sin: 188, 199
Nebukadnezzar: 203, 204, 205, 207, 210
Necromancy: 203, 204, 223
Nektanebo: 196, 253
Netherworld: 198, 213, 214, 236, 258, 283
Nightmare: 213, 214, 229
"Nocturnal vision": 190, 200, 201, 203, 226

Odysseus: 204, 209, 211, 216
Old Norse literature: 188, 192
Omen texts: 256–294
Omina-collections: dichotomy of Akkadian omina, 239; in Old Babylonian period, 242; Mesopotamian, 238, 242; Greek, 242; Egyptian, 238, 242, 243
Ominous phenomena: Mesopotamian attitude toward, 239; objective validity of those in dreams, 205, 232, 238
Oneiromancy: decline of in neo-Assyrian period, 200, 238
Opposing predictions of analogous dreams: 210

Past, dream relating to: 196, 228
Patroclos: 191, 203
Penelope: 198, 209, 210, 228, 234
Petēsis: 196, 253

Pharaoh (Exodus): 207, 208
Place of dreaming: *see* Circumstances of
Plutarch: 187, 209
Political dreams: army of Assurbanipal, 209, 249; Gyges, 199, 202, 249; Hattushili, 254; Hittite nobles, 199, 202, 254; Nabonidus, 204, 250; Priest of Ishtar, 249; Sethos, 252; Tanutamon, 207, 251; Thutmose IV, 251; warning to enemies of Assurbanipal, 202, 250; in Artemidorus, 209
Priest of Ishtar: 188, 190, 191, 199, 200, 201, 249
Private persons: 199, 200, 239
Prometheus: 208
Psychoanalysis: 185, 186, 219, 227, 230, 231, 237
Ptolemeus I, Soter: 187, 251, 252
Puduhepa: 197, 254

Reality levels, shifts in: *see* Dream and Waking Worlds
Rhesus (*Iliad*): 214
Ritual texts: 295–306

Sacerdotal nature of kingship: admits only dream-epiphanies to royal inscriptions, 209, 210
Samuel: 188, 189, 190, 197, 201, 204
Saul: 204, 221
Serapeum papyri: 228, 253, 254
Serpents: 191, 195, 206, 207, 251
Sennacherib: 200
Sethos: 187, 188, 199, 252
Sex in dreams: 227
Shuppiluliuma, priest of: 188
Sleep, death: relationship of, 236
Solomon: 188, 191, 193
Sophocles: 197
Sources of dream-reports: *historical inscriptions:* of Sumerian origin (two texts), 186; of Assurbanipal, 186; of Nabonidus, 186; in "autobiography" of Hattushili, 186, 187; of Merenptah, 187; of Ptolemeus I, Soter, 187; of Sethos, 187; of Tanutamon, 187; of Thutmose IV, 187; *literary texts:* Sumerian and Akkadian—Epic of Gilgamesh, private letters, omen literature, 186, 187, 197, 209; *Biblical* and *Greek* sources, 186, 187, 209; chronological distribution of dream-reports, 187
Stars, falling: 283
Stylistic conventions: *see* Dream-Reports
Sumerian temple, plan of: 194, 224, 245, 246
Symbols: baby-sling, 201; handing-over-of-sword, 192, 251; mother-child motif, 191, 201; objects falling from heaven, 208, 215, 247; South wind, 241; wind blowing, 216; breath of air, 234, 235; of deity, *see Zaqīqu*
"Symbolic": usage of term in this work, 206
Symbolic dream: experienced by kings, 210; nature and function of, 205, 206, 207, 211; recognition and interpretation of, 206, 207, 208; self-explanatory type, 206, 207; "evil" type, 206; in Mesopotamian texts, 207; in Egyptian texts,

206, 207, 209, 210; in Old Testament, 206, 207, 209, 210; repetition of with new symbols, 208; repeated to many dreamers, 209; message of concerns future only, 207; as related to "message" dream, 209, 210, 211, 212

Tabernacle: 193
Tacitus: 209
Taimhotep: 252
Tammuz: 212, 213, 218, 219, 221, 241, 246
Tanutamon: 187, 191, 207, 251
Temple of Solomon: 193
Termination of dream: *see* Awakening
Theological validity of dreams: 190, 195, 196, 206, 210, 225, 238
Theophany, dream-theophany: relative impacts of, 191, 192, 201; theophany-incident followed by dream-incident, 200, 201
Therapeutic dream: 192, 194
Thutmose IV: 187, 191, 192, 251
Time of dreaming: 187, 203, 217, 240, 241, 298
Tokens left by dream figures: 192

Ur-Nammu: 214
Utanapishtim: 207

Votive offerings: 192, 193, 199, 222, 227
Vow to deity: 193

Water, walking in: 258
Women: symbolic dreams experienced by, 190; as interpreters, 221, 222, 223, 225; necromantic practices of priestesses, 223; appearance of deity to, 197; dreams of in Hittite texts, 197, 198, 199, 204, 227

Xerxes: 208

Zaqīqu/Ziqīqu: semantics of, with Hebrew and Greek parallels, 219, 234, 235

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

to p. 193 Rather unexpectedly, on the reverse of the Middle-Assyrian tablet KAV 39 which comes from Arbela, one finds one of these rare references to images of gods fashioned according to revelations in a theophany. It reports on the dedication of certain persons to the god Zamama (obv. 13: *ana* LÚ *qa-tin-ú-te ana* ^{d}*Za-má-má ad-din-šú-nu-ti*), and we read on rev. x+1–5 the following lines: [. . .] *x bi-ri ab-ri-e-ma* ^{d}*Šá-maš u* ^{d}IM *áš-'-al-ma um-ma* ^{d}*Za-má-má* DUMU AN.SÁR *šu-ú* ^{d}*Šá-maš u* ^{d}IM *ina bi-ri ú-du-ni* [*ṣalam (?)* ^{d}]*Za-má-má u* ^{d}*Ba-ú ki-ma si-ma-ti-šú e-pu-uš-ma* [. . .]*-ma ina* IGI KÁ.GAL URUDU.NAGAR [. . .]*-nu lu-u i-pu-uš* "I saw [. . .] in a vision and then I asked Shamash and Adad (as follows:) 'Is this (god I saw) Zamama, the son of Aššur?' Shamash and Adad informed me in a vision, and I (thereupon) fashioned [statues of] Zamama and Bau in the correct manner and [placed] them in front of the Tibira-gate (of the city of Assur)."

to p. 193 To an inspirational dream refers also the damaged passage LKA 36: 5–9 where one reads, after four rather typical lines of a hymn to the goddess Šeru'a, as follows: *ina tar-ṣi* ^{m}TUKUL.A.É.SÁR.RA LUGAL KUR *Aš+šur*^{ki} [*x*]*-ḫa-as-su* ^{d}*Šēru-ú-a ina šat mu-ši* [*ú*]*-šab-ri-šú-ma* MU.MEŠ *an-nu-ti* [. . .*-m*]*a ina muḫ-ḫi it-*[. . .] "During the reign of Tiglath-Pileser (II) the goddess Šeru'a showed PN a vision during the night and [he wrote] these lines and pl[aced his trust(?)] upon (them)."

to p. 227 To dreams of this nature refers also a fragmentary omen of the series *šumma âlu* published in CT XXXIX 36: 108–109: DIŠ MIN (i.e., Na *ana* É.DINGIR-*šú* [. . .]) MÁŠ.GE$_6$ BAR *it-ta-*[. . .] "If a man [goes] to the temple of his god after he has experienced a strange dream," and, DIŠ MIN *ina* MÁŠ.GE$_6$-*šú ana* SAL TE-*ma l*[*a* . . .] "If ditto after he had had, in a dream, intercourse with a woman but did not [. . .]."

to p. 243 Through a strange coincidence we happen to have a modern Arabic dream-book coming from Iraq (published by Joseph Tfinkdji under the title "Essai sur les songes et l'art de les interpréter (onirocritie) en Mésopotamie" in *Anthropos* **7**: 505–525), representing the type of dream-book which lists good and bad dreams separately. It is quite obvious that this popular pamphlet shows Indian influences and can by no means be considered as representative of a native Mesopotamian tradition.

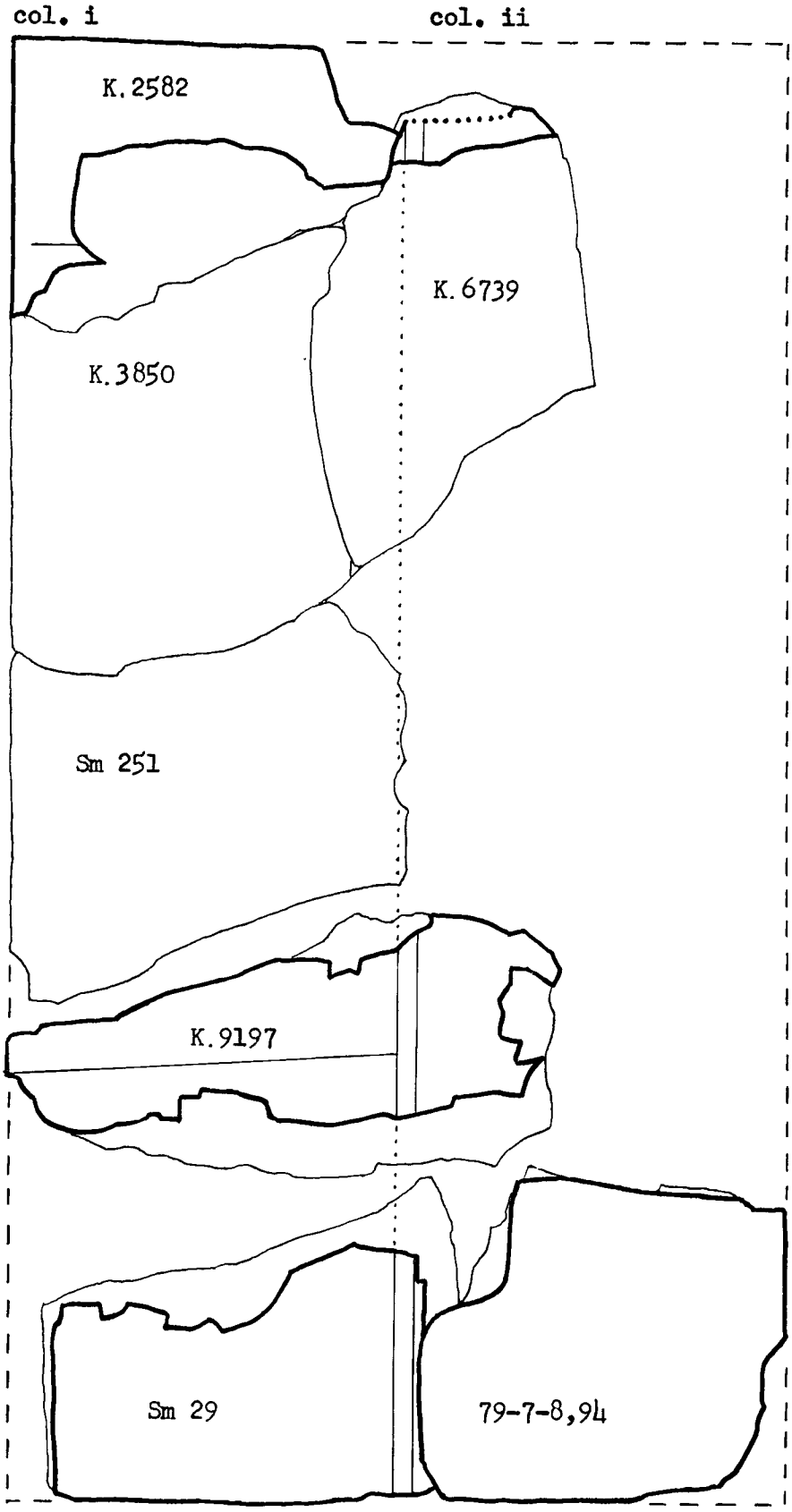


FIG. 1. Tablet IX, obverse.

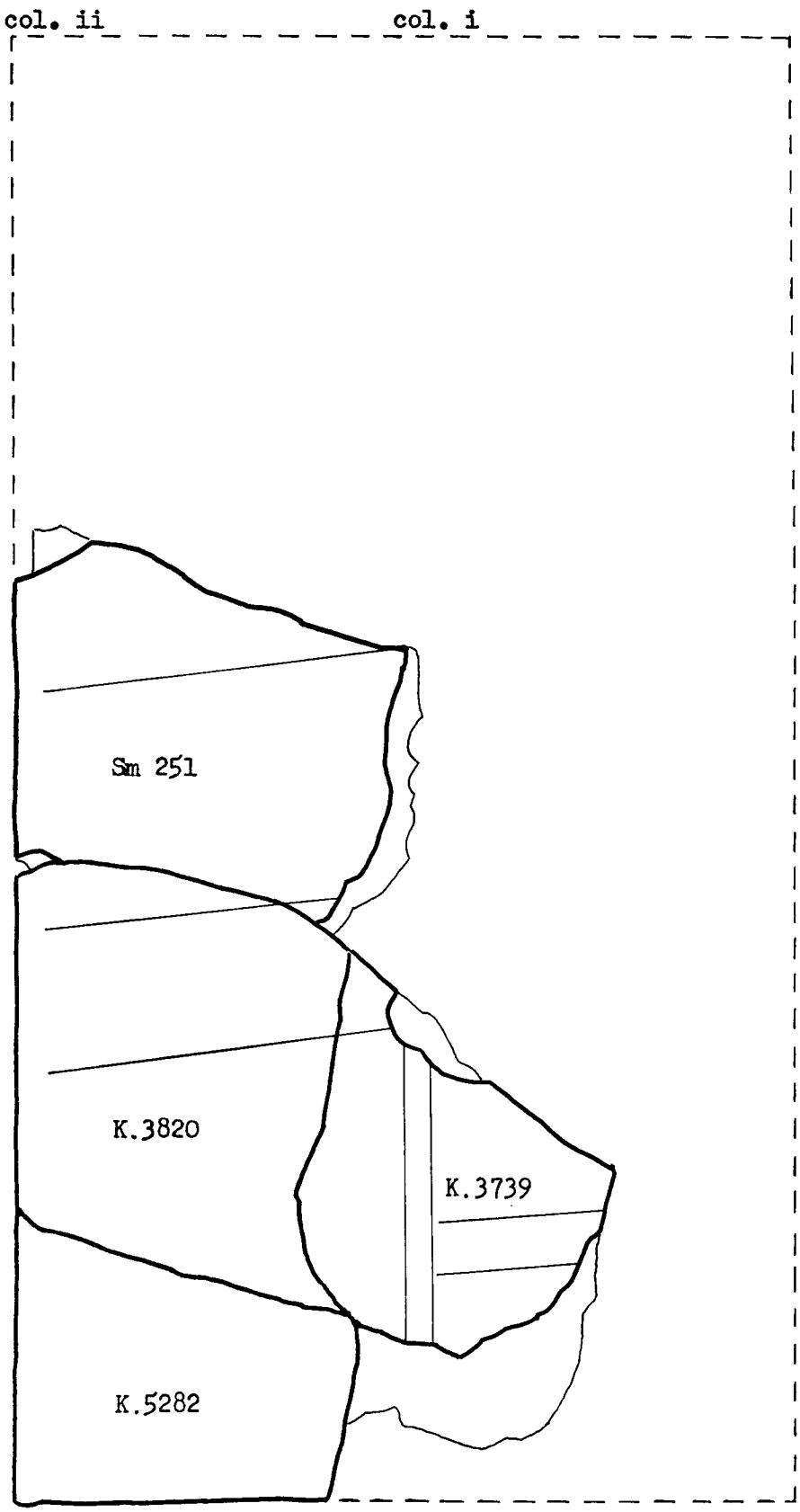


FIG. 2. Tablet IX, reverse.

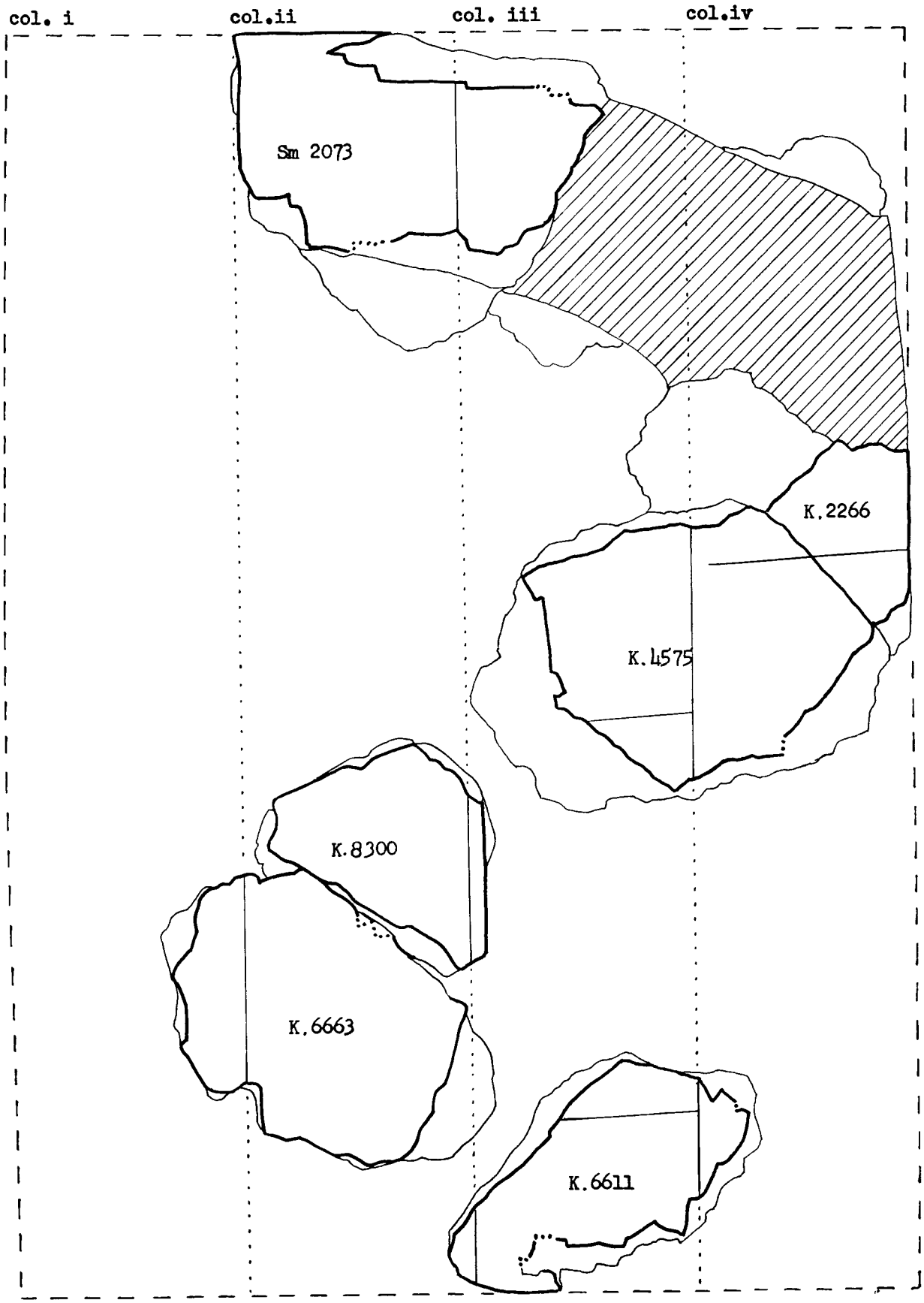


FIG. 3. Tablet A, obverse.

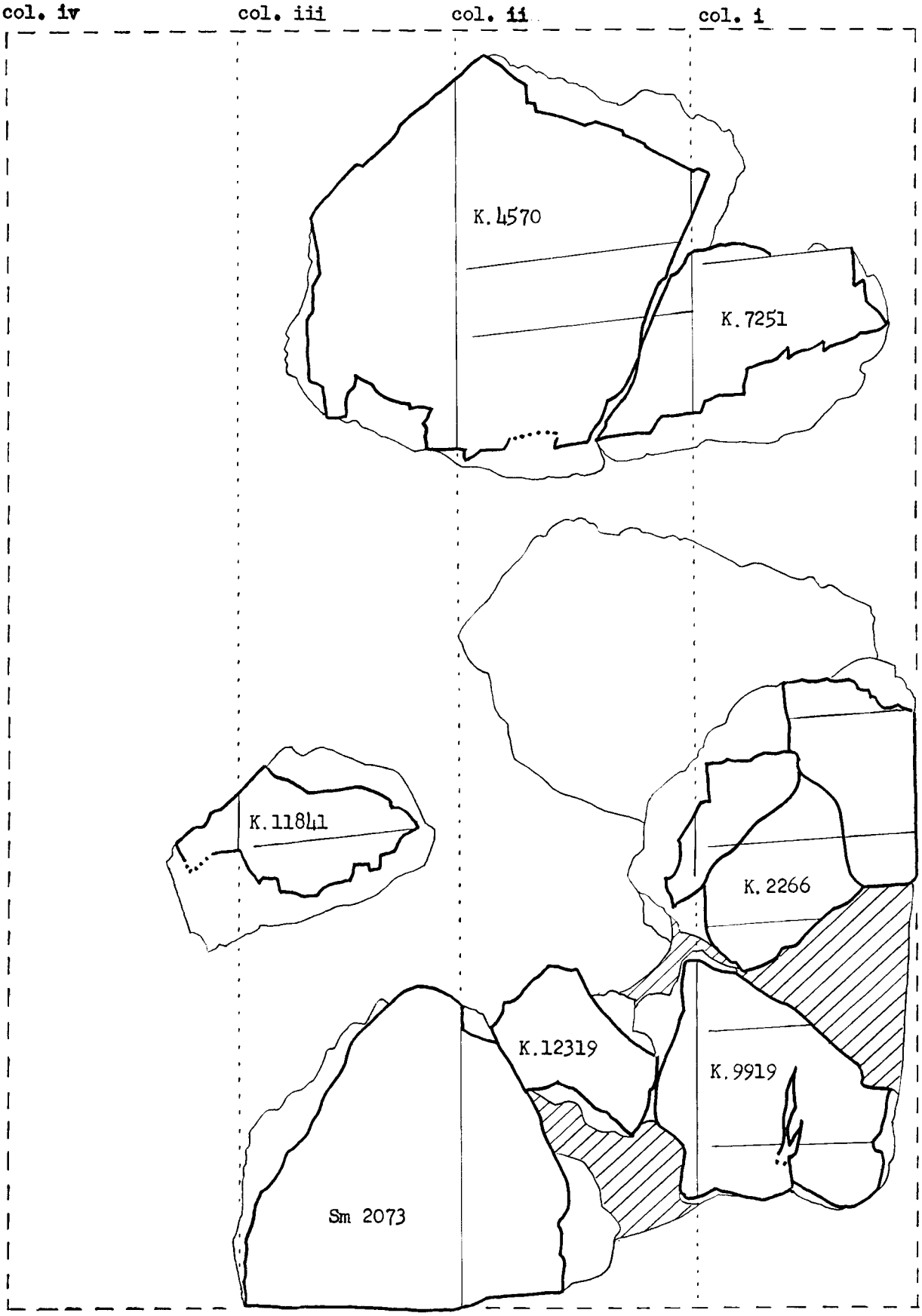


FIG. 4. Tablet A, reverse.

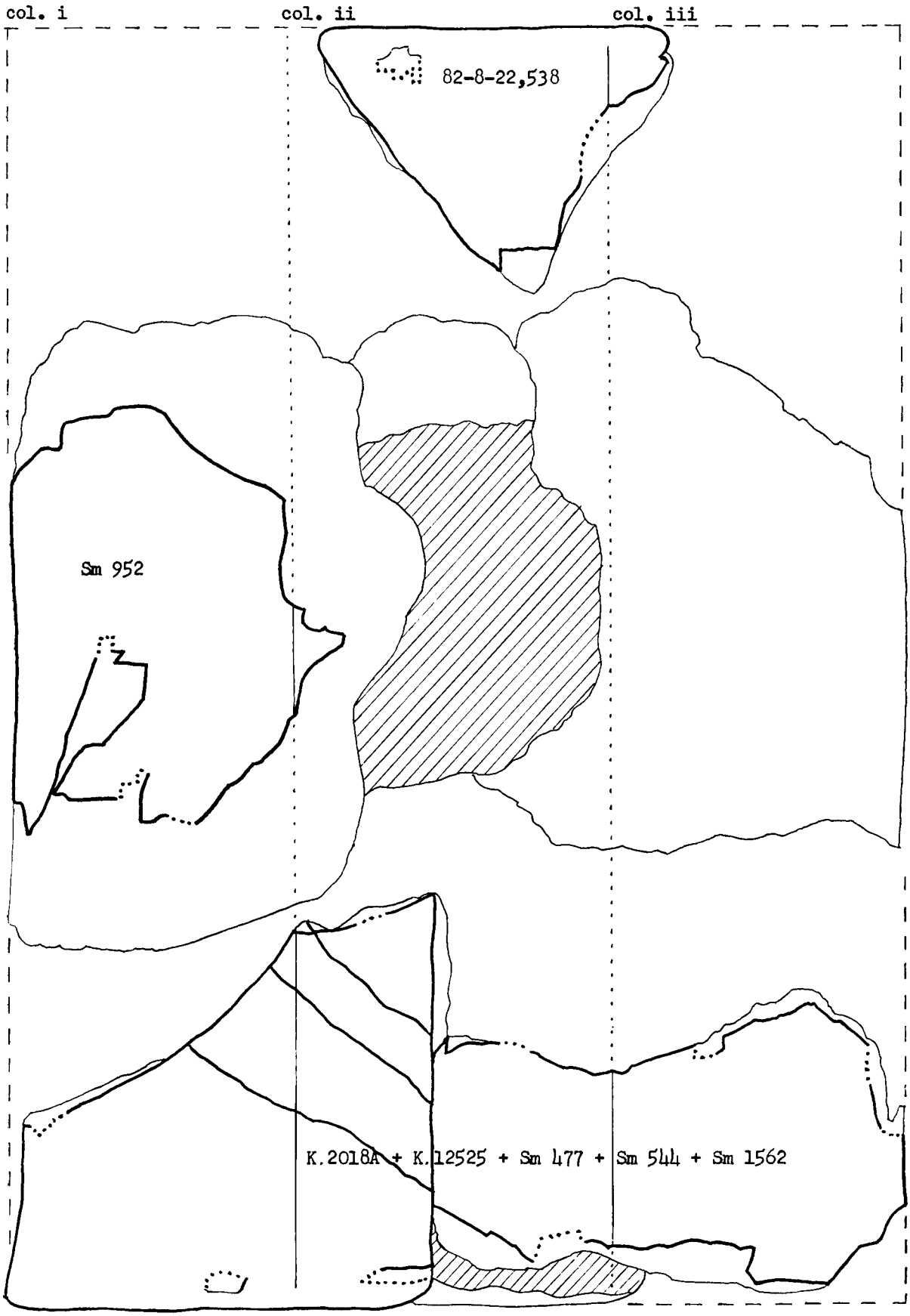


FIG. 5. Tablet B, obverse.

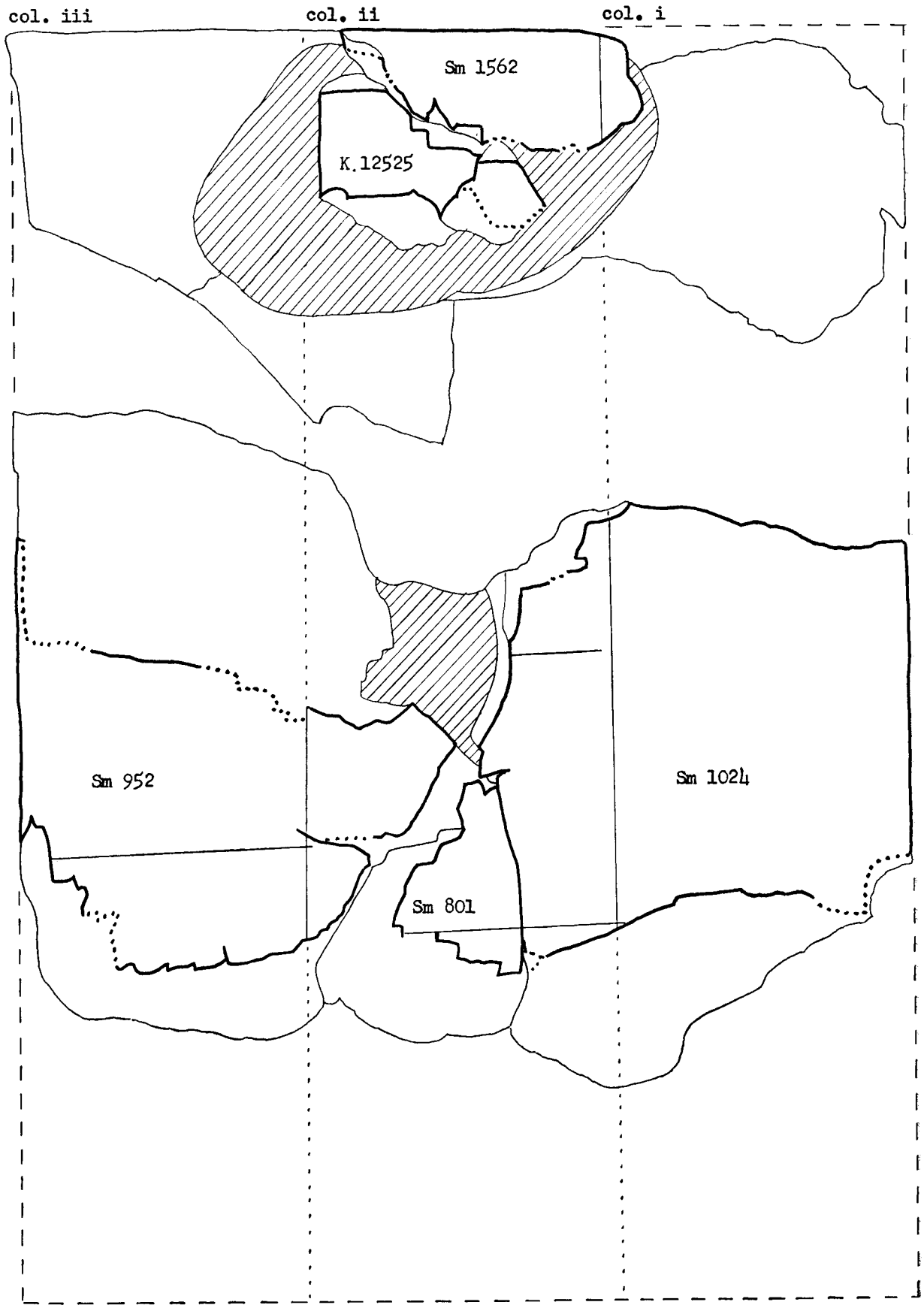
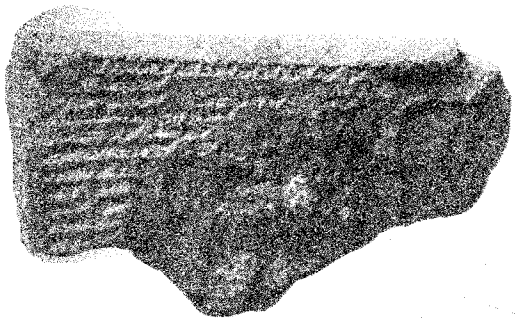


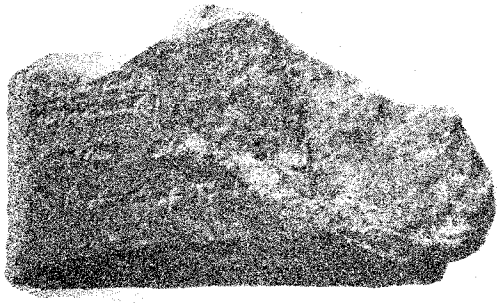
FIG. 6. Tablet B, reverse.

obv.

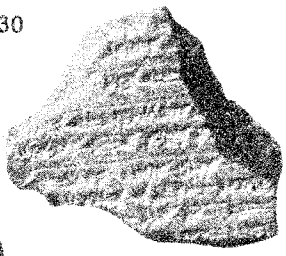


K. 3758

rev.

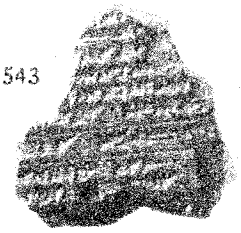


K. 13330



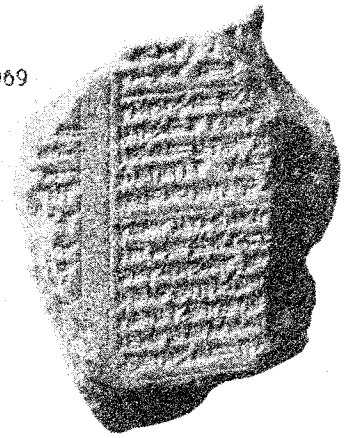
K. 4103

Sm 543



K 8171 +
K 11041 +
K 11684 + K. 14058

Sm 1069



K. 8583

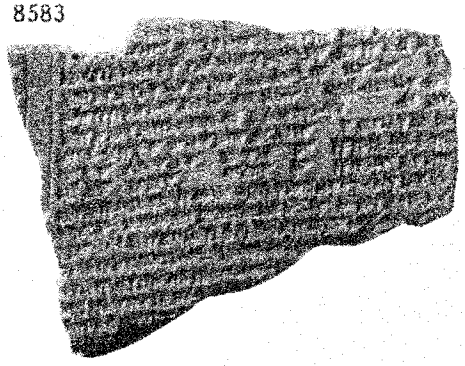
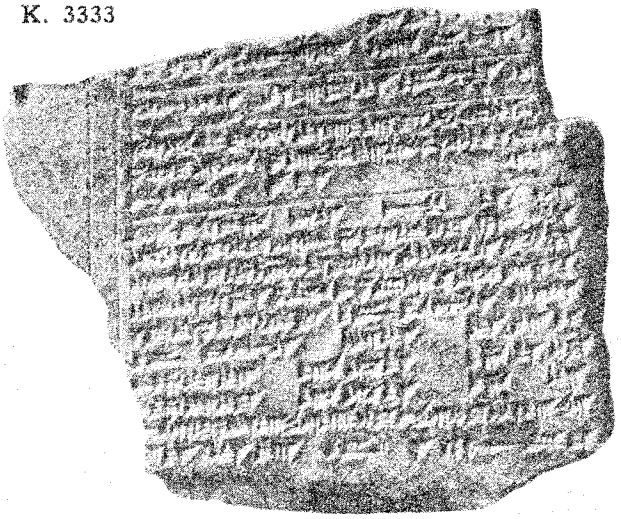
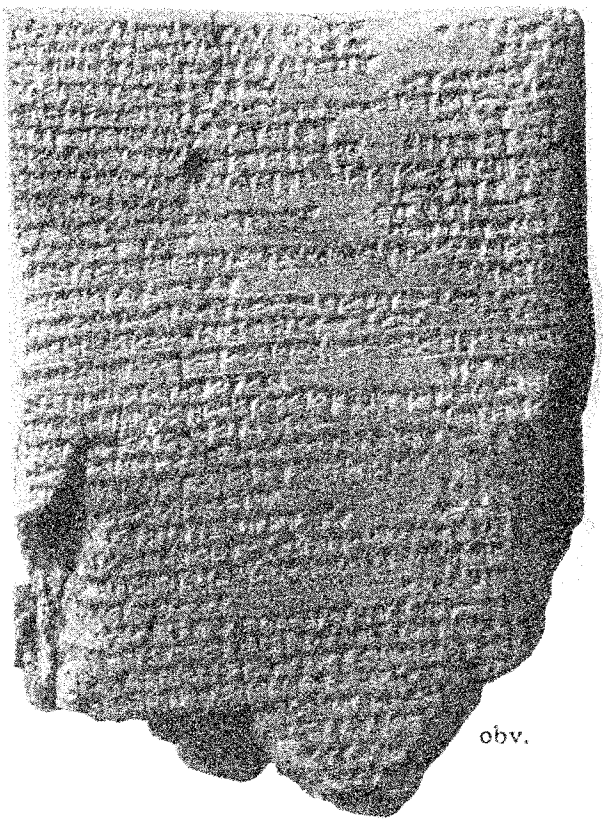


PLATE I

K. 3333

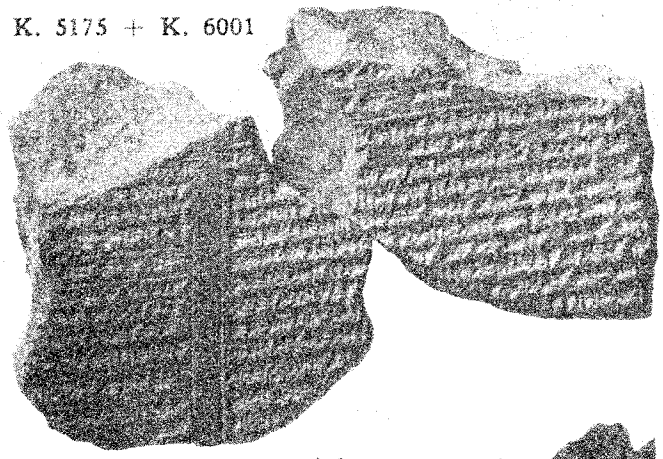




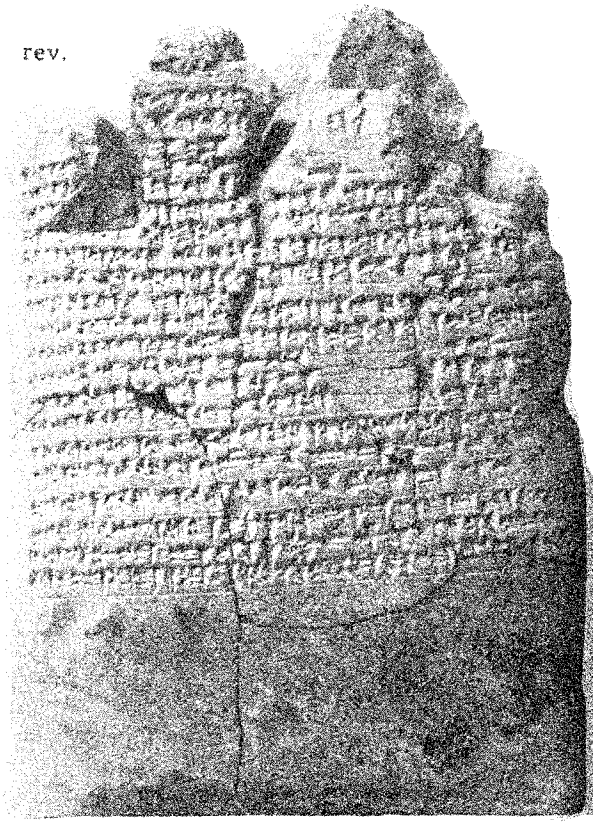
obv.

79-7-8,77

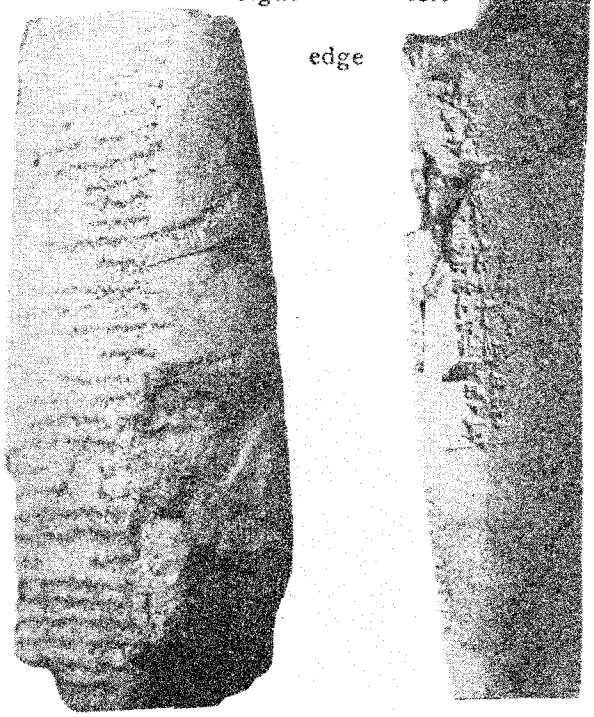
K. 5175 + K. 6001



rev.

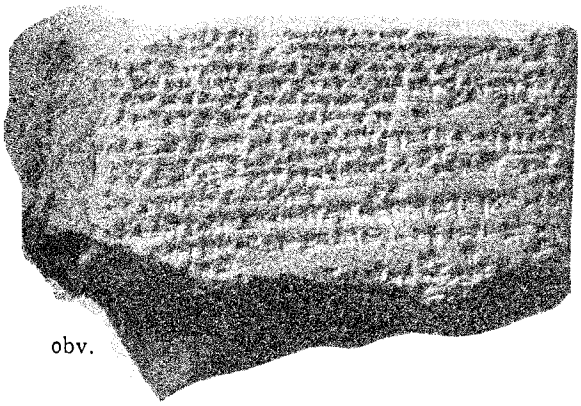


right edge



79-7-8,77

PLATE II

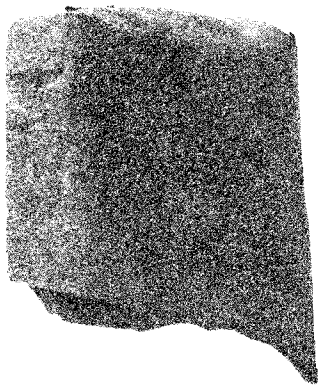


obv.

81–2–4,166

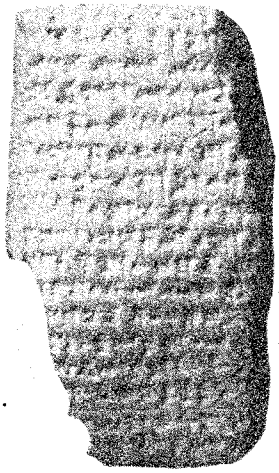
obv.

right edge

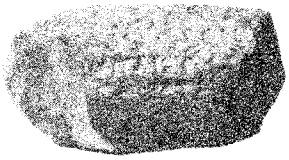


81–2–4,233

rev.

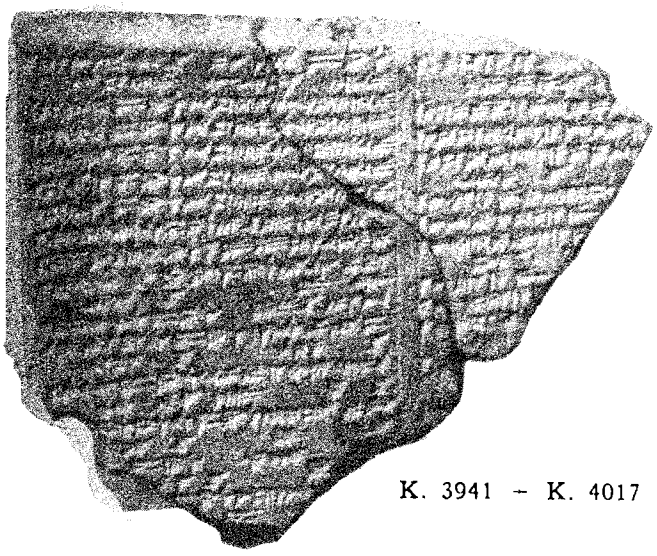


lower edge



rev.

obv.



K. 3941 – K. 4017

rev.

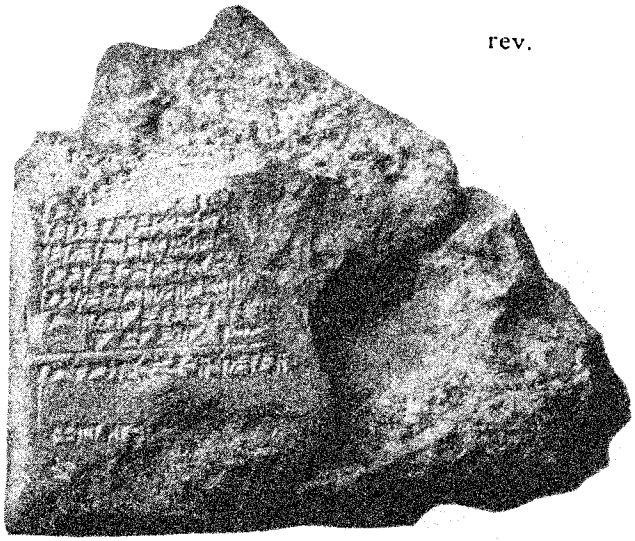
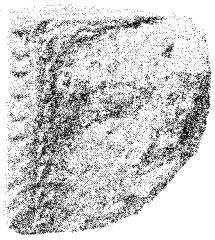


PLATE III

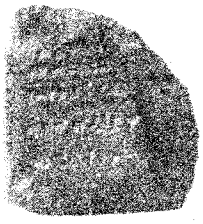
K. 14216

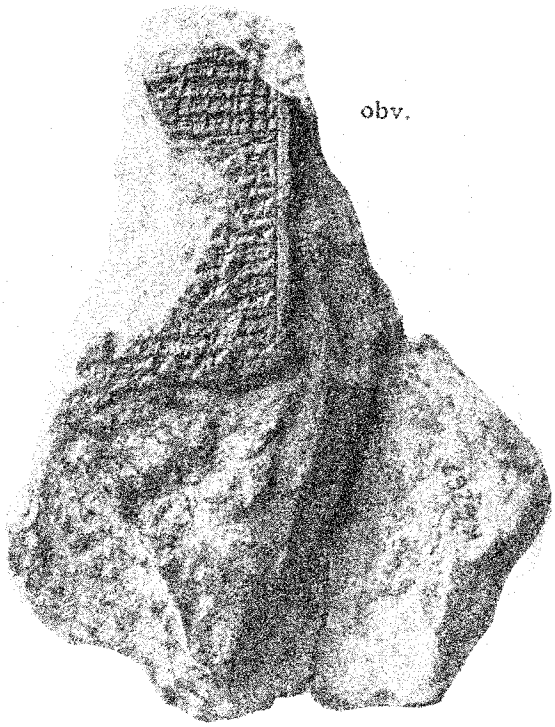
obv.



K. 12638

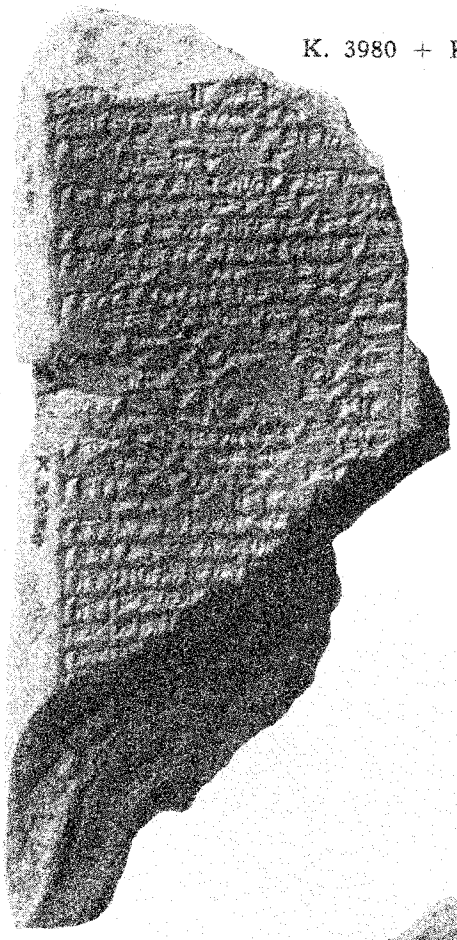
rev.



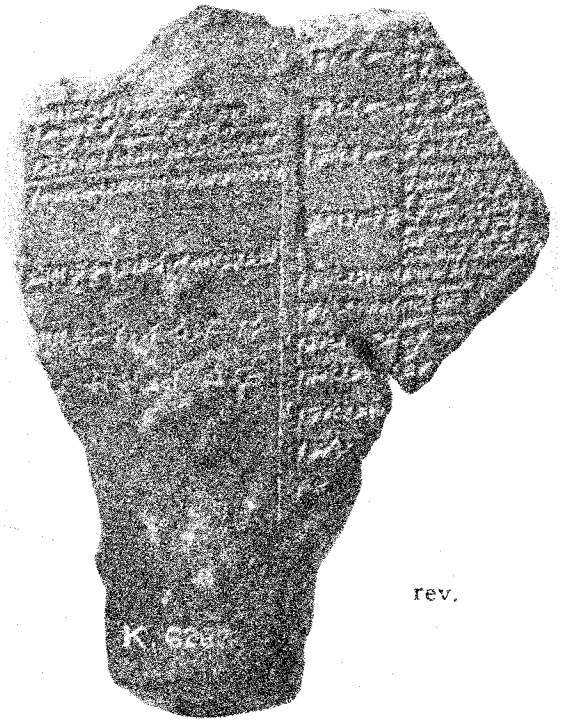


obv.

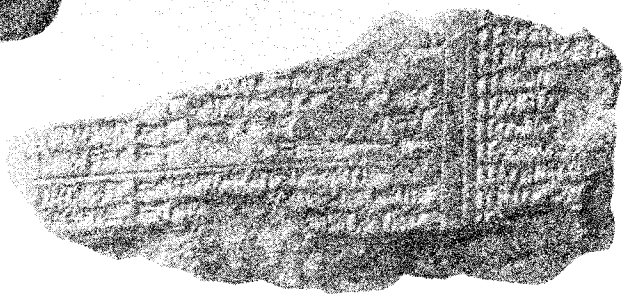
K. 3980 + K. 6399



K. 6267



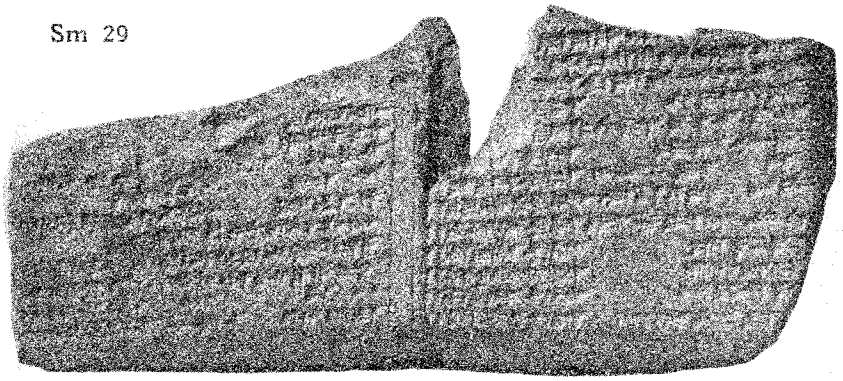
K. 9197

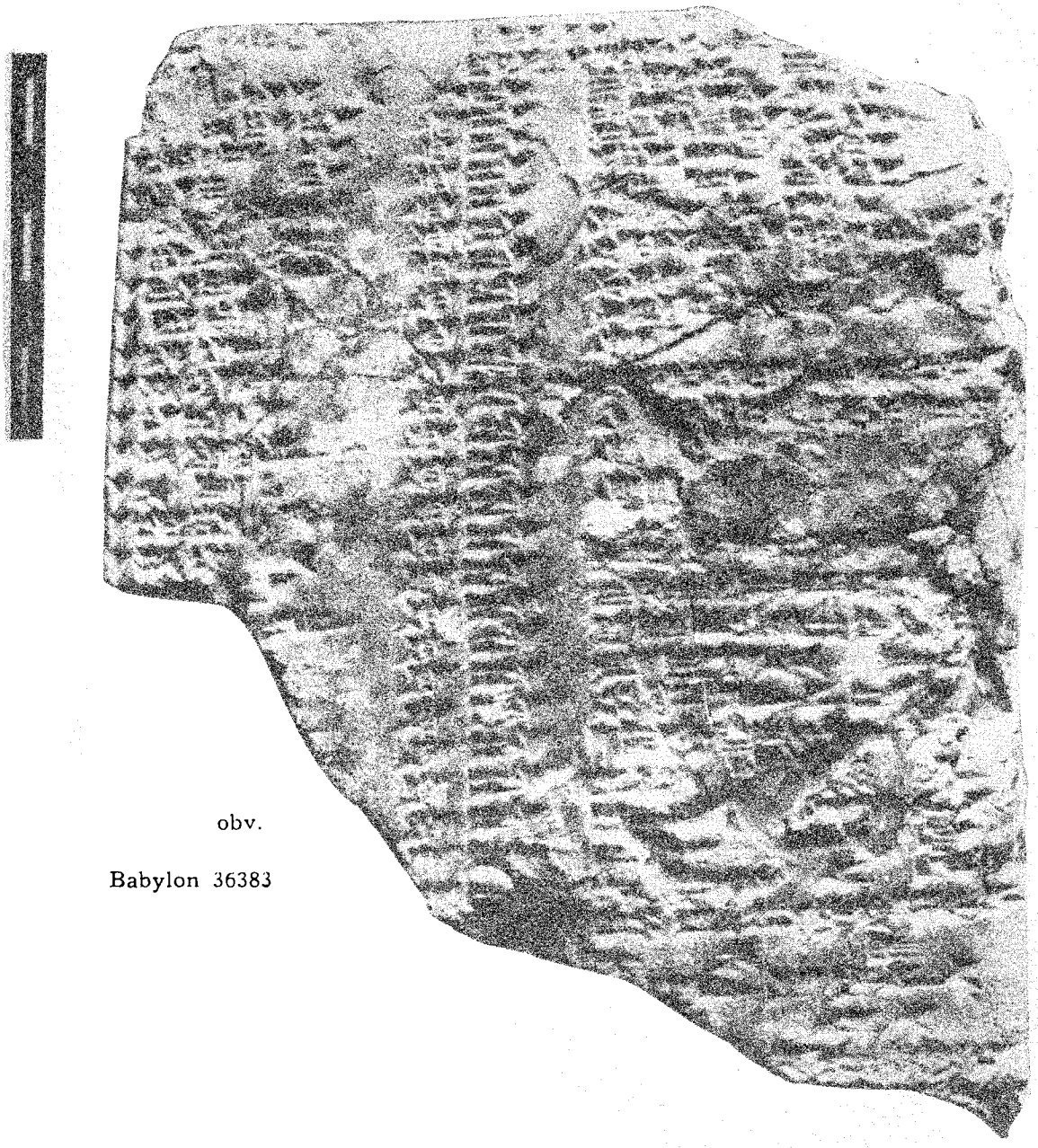


rev.

PLATE IV

Sm 29



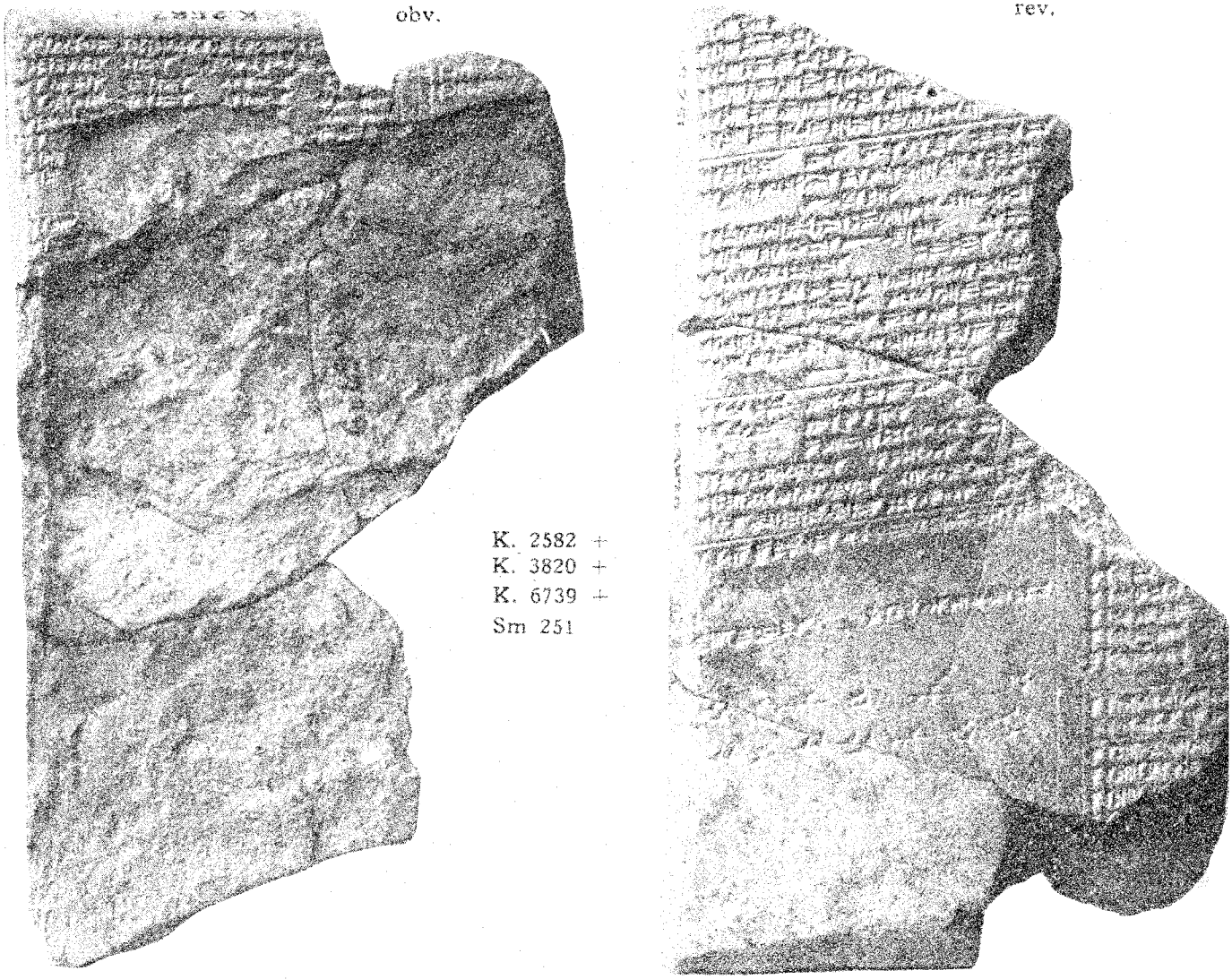


obv.

Babylon 36383

obv.

rev.



K. 2582 +
K. 3820 +
K. 6739 +
Sm 251

K. 6663 + K. 8300

K. 4570 + K. 7251

PLATE VI

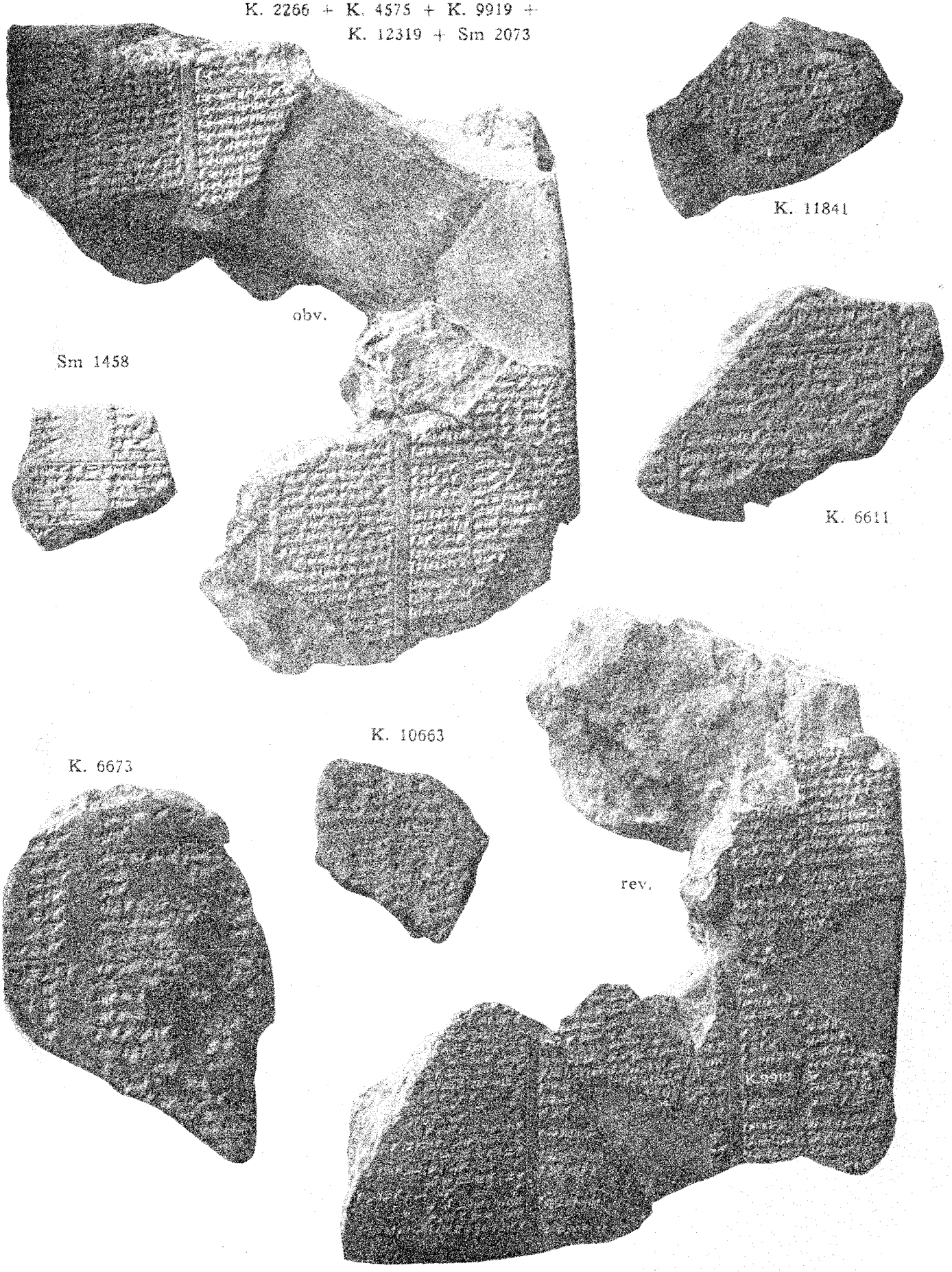
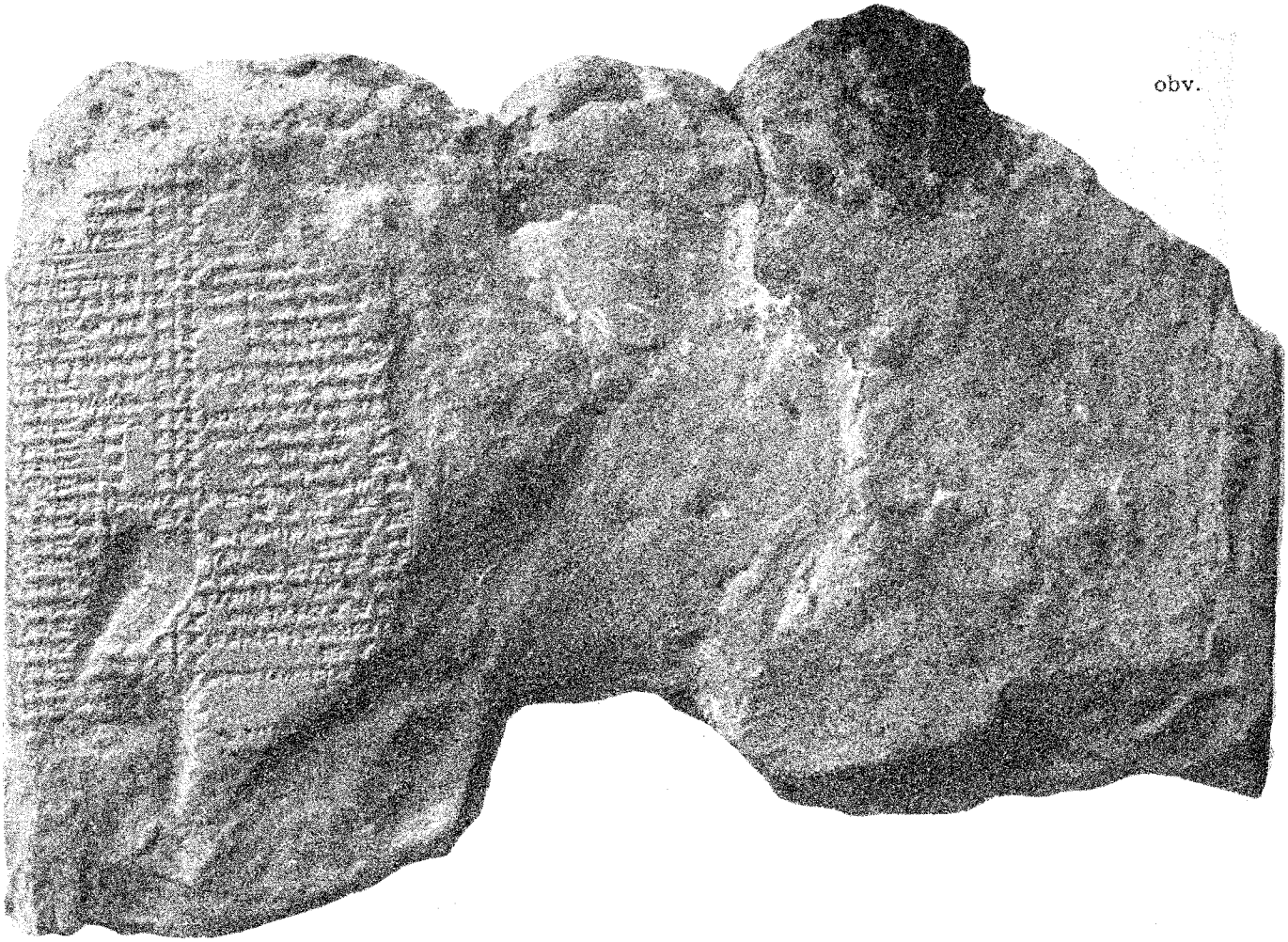

K. 2266 + K. 4575 + K. 9919 +
K. 12319 + Sm 2073
K. 11841
obv.
Sm 1458
K. 6611
K. 10663
K. 6673
rev.

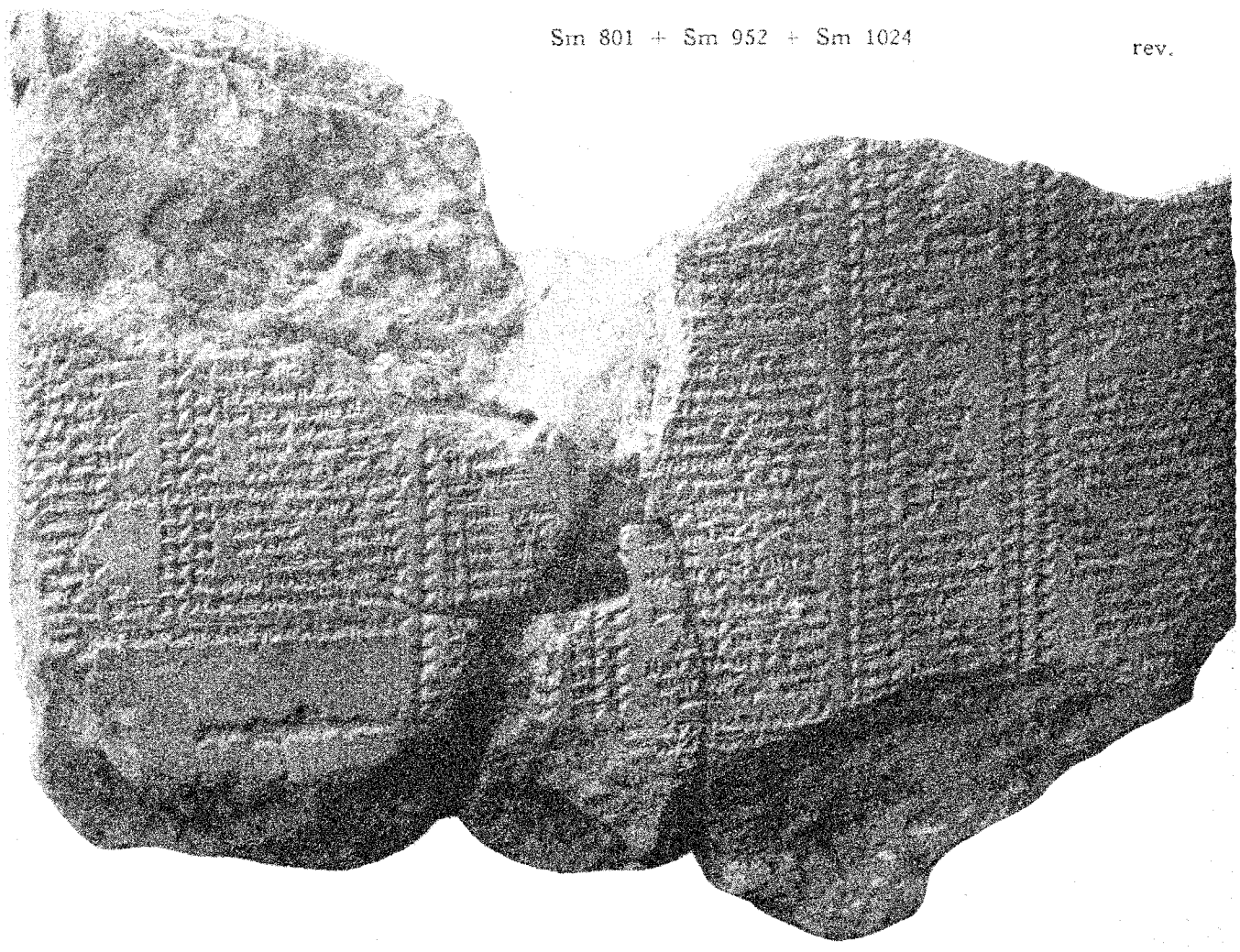
PLATE VII

obv.

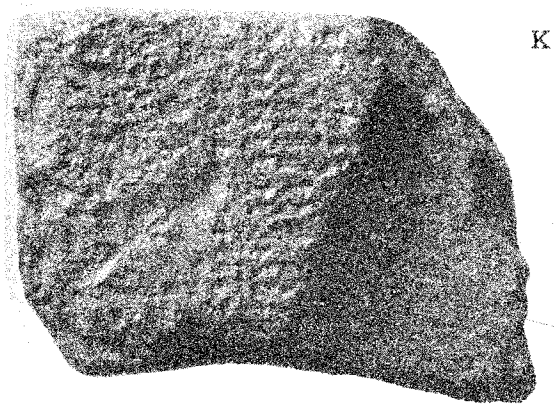


Sm 801 + Sm 952 + Sm 1024

rev.



K. 14884

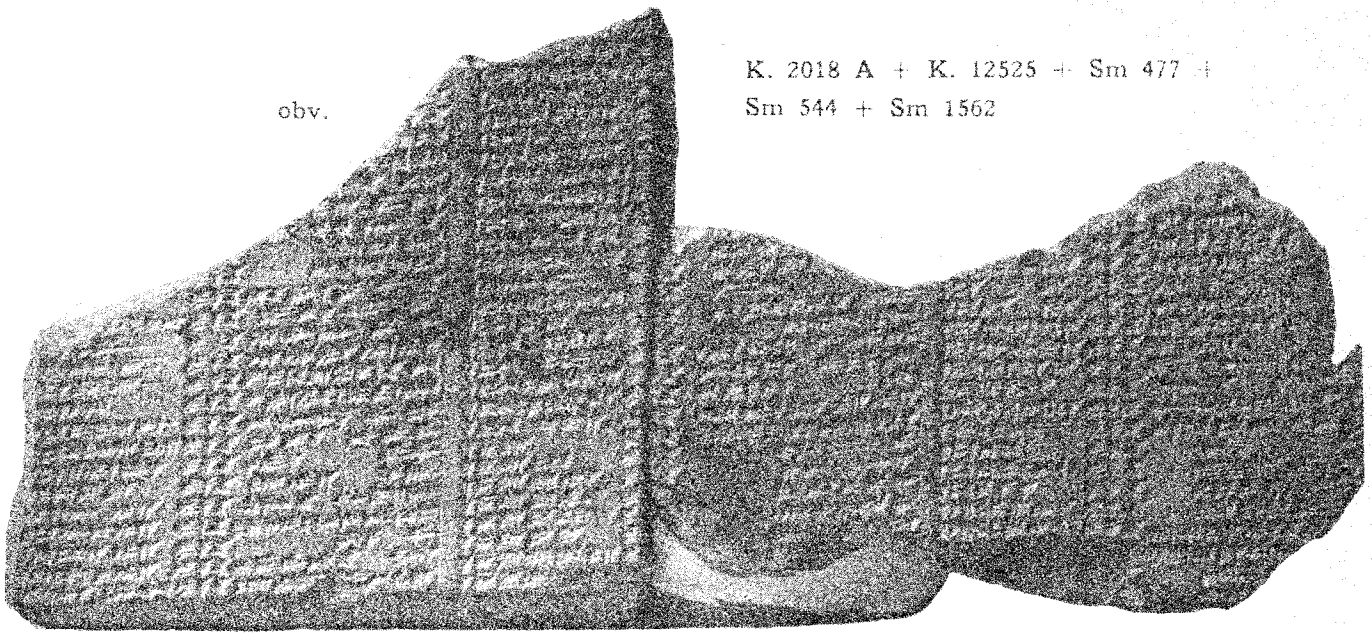


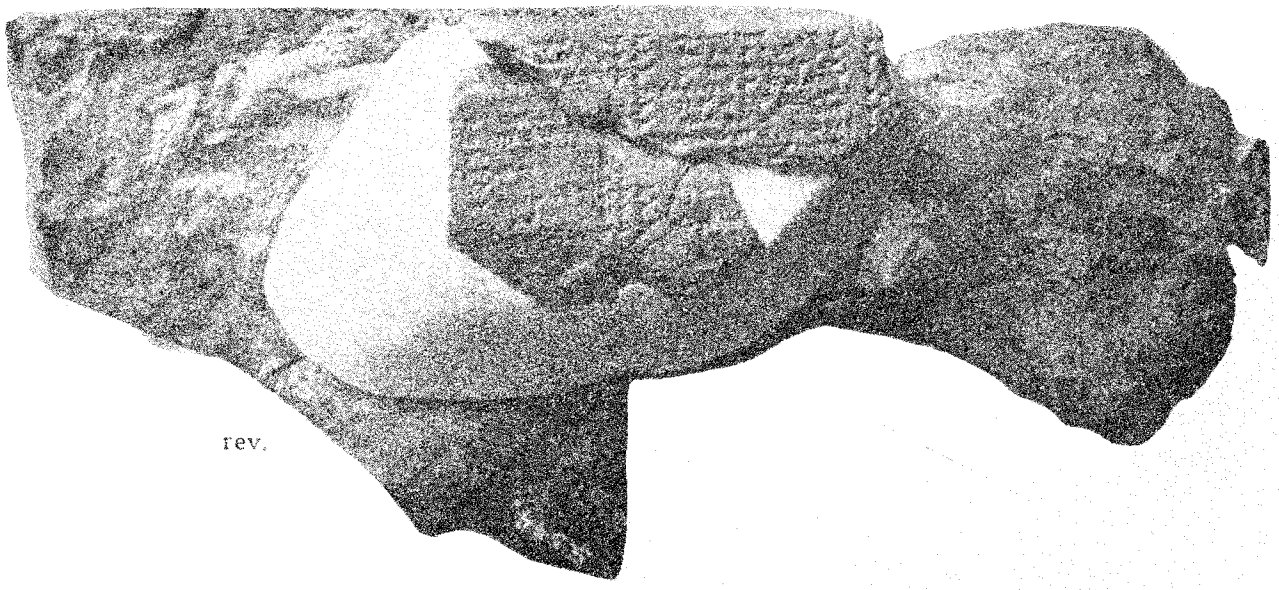
obv.

rev.

K. 2018 A + K. 12525 + Sm 477 + Sm 544 + Sm 1562

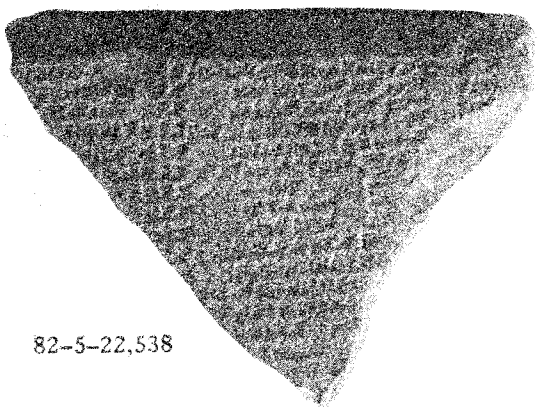
obv.



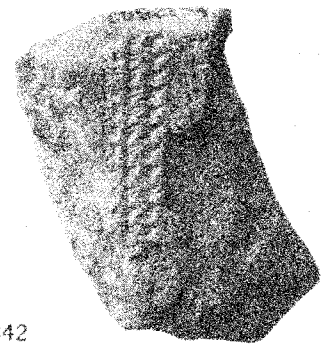


rev.

PLATE IX



82-5-22,538

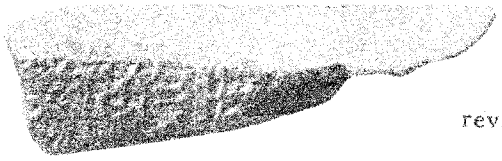


K. 12842

VAT 14279

obv.

K. 12641



rev.

PLATE X

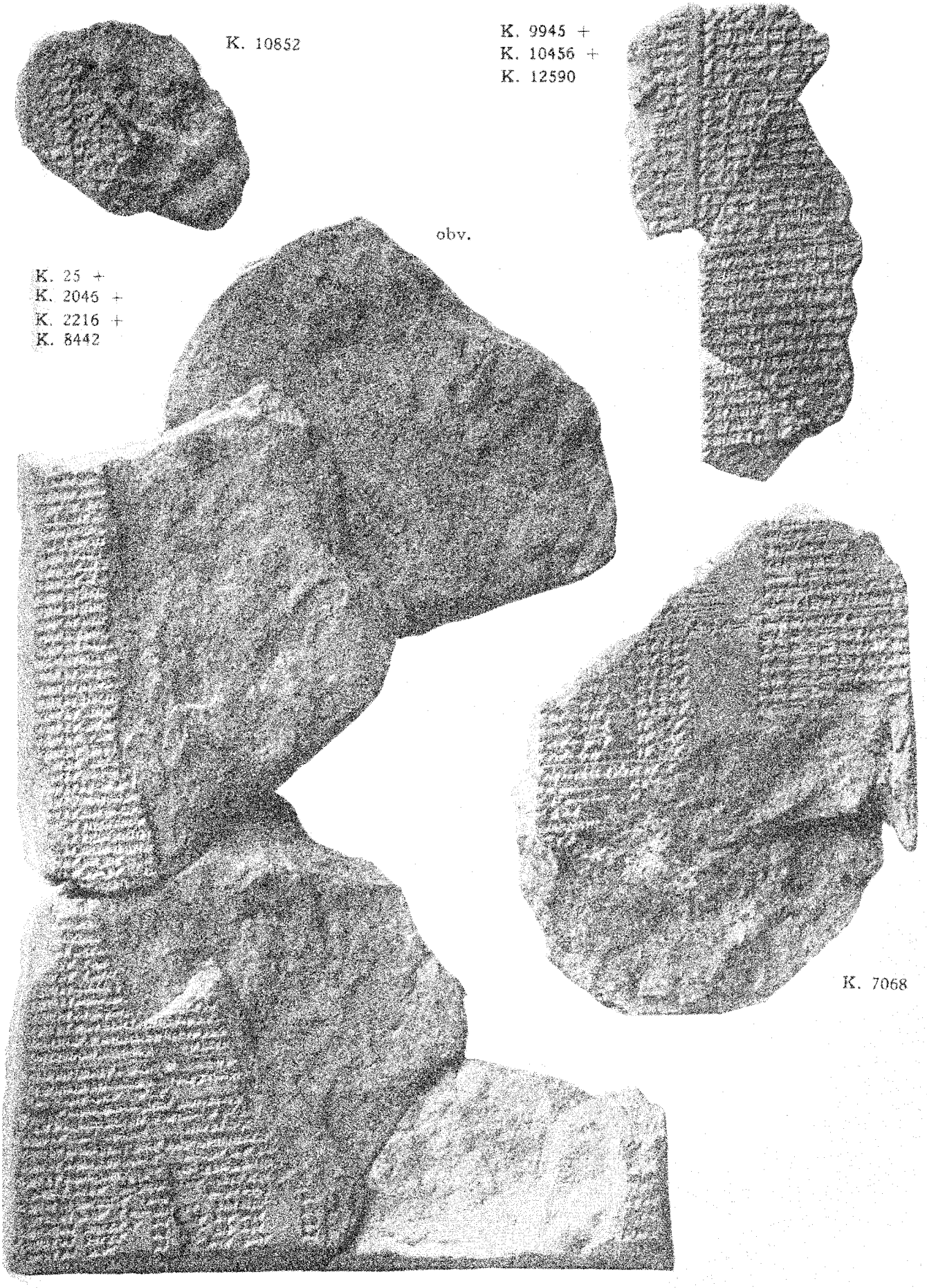
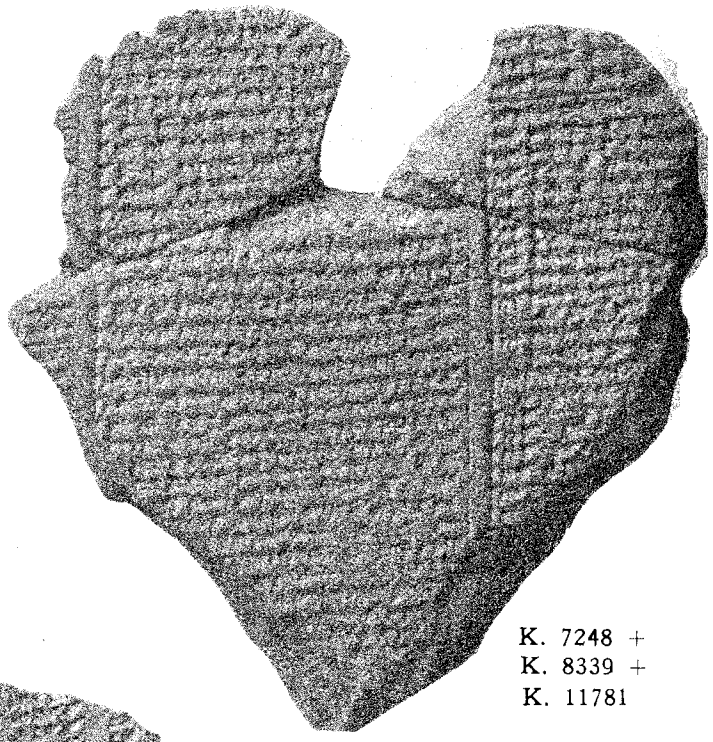


PLATE XI

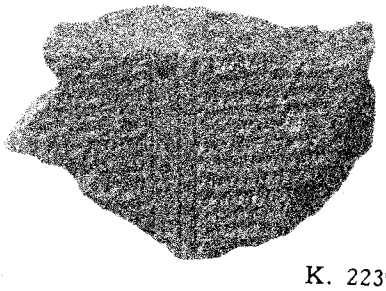
K. 25 + K. 2046 + K. 2216 + K. 8442

rev.



K. 7248 + K. 8339 + K. 11781

K. 2239



obv.

K. 2239

rev.

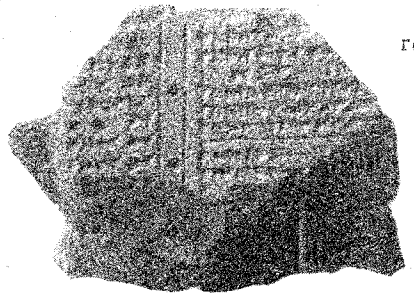


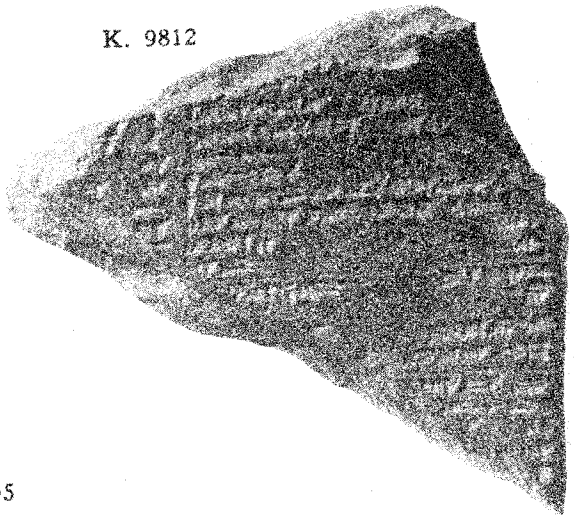
PLATE XII

obv.

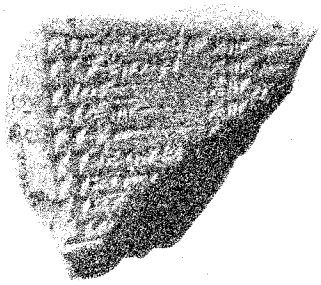
K. 273

rev.

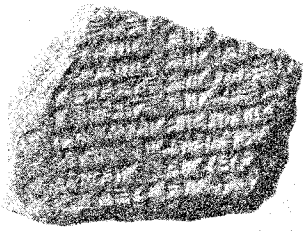
K. 9812



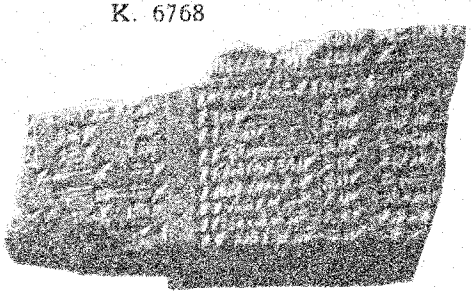
K. 6705



K. 6824



K. 6768



K. 9038

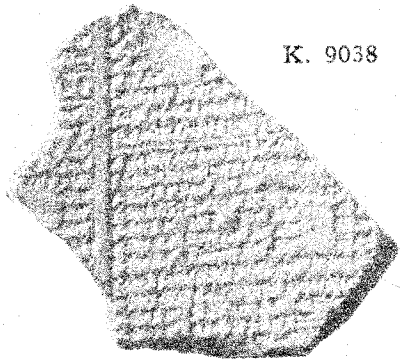


PLATE XIII